THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

With an Account of

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE:

AND A

View of the Progreſs of Society,

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

To the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

In a SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

FIFTH VOLUME

OF THE

History of Modern Europe.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER XXVI.

General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Lewis XIV. in 1715, to the Death of the Emperor, Charles VI. in 1740.

A.D.		Page
1715	PREAMBLE - - -	1
	State of the courts of France and England	2
	Turbulent regency of the duke of Orleans -	ibid.
	George I. firmly established on the British throne	ibid.
	SEPTENNIAL BILL - -	ibid.
1716	The Emperor declares war against the Turks for infringing the treaty of Carlowitz - -	3
1717	Battle of Belgrade - -	ibid.
	The Turks defeated with great slaughter by the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene - -	ibid.
1718	Peace of Passarowitz - -	ibid.
	Great power of cardinal Alberoni at the court of Spain	ib.
	His intrigues - -	4
	He forms a conspiracy for obtaining for Philip V. the regency of France - - -	ibid.
	It is discovered and defeated, by the seisure of the papers of Prince Cellamar, the Spanish Ambassador at the court of Versailles - -	5

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

Puniſhment of the conſpirators - 5

QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE - - - ibid.

France and England declare war againſt Spain - 6

Deſtruction and captures of the Spaniſh fleet by Sir George Byng - - - ibid.

1719 Recovery of the iſland of Sicily, and the conqueſt of Sardinia - - - ibid.

Progreſs of the French arms on the frontiers of Spain 7

Philip V. accedes to the terms preſcribed by the Quadruple Alliance, and Alberoni is diſgraced - ibid.

Particulars of John Law, author of the famous *Miſſiſippi ſcheme* - - - ibid.

His views in projecting it - - ibid.

Infatuated ſpirit of adventure occaſioned by that ſcheme 8

Immenſe circulation of paper - - 9

Its depreciation, and the diſtreſs of France - ibid.

Riſe of the *South-Sea Scheme* in England - 10

Conciſe account of the ſtate of the *National Debt*, the *Public Funds*, and the *Stocks* - - ibid.

——— of the *South-Sea Company* - 11

Lucrative trade carried on by that company - 12

Sir John Blount propoſes, under pretence of lowering the intereſt of the national debt, That the South Sea Company ſhall become the ſole public creditor - ibid.

1720 Act of parliament procured for that purport, and books of ſubſcription opened, for granting annuities to ſuch public creditors as might think proper to *exchange* the *ſecurity* of the *crown* for that of the *South-Sea Company*, with the chance of the *emoluments* of their *trade* - ibid.

Rapid and exceſſive riſe of the ſtock of the South-Sea Company - - - 13

It falls as rapidly - - 14

Ruined and diſtracted ſtate of the ſtock-holders ibid.

A committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to enquire into the cheat practiſed upon the nation ibid.

1721 The chief promoters of that iniquitous ſcheme puniſhed; the ſufferers indemnified as far as poſſible, and public credit reſtored - - ibid.

The diſcontents occaſioned by the South-Sea Scheme, encourage the Jacobites to form a conſpiracy in favour of the Pretender - - 15

1722 It is diſcovered and rendered abortive - 16

Several noblemen taken into cuſtody, Chriſtopher Layer executed, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter baniſhed ibid.

1723 Death and character of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France - - - ibid.

1725 Treaty of Vienna - - 17

——— of Hanover - - 18

1727 Unhappy fate of captain Hoſier and his ſquadron ibid.

Treaty of Seville - - 19

Death

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Death of George I. and acceffion of his fon George II. 19
State of parties in England - - ibid.
Violent oppofition in parliament - 20
Corrupt adminiftration of Sir Robert Walpole ibid.
Reflections on the influence of the crown - 21
——— on the integrity and independency of parliament 22
1731 The contracting powers in the treaty of Seville, guaranty the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, or domeftic law, by which the fucceffion to the hereditary dominions of the Houfe of Auftria were fecured to the heirs female of the Emperor Charles VI. if he fhould die without male iffue 23
1733 Death of Auguftus II. King of Poland gives rife to a new continental war - - ibid.
The Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, league againft the Emperor - - 24
The Duke of Berwick paffes the Rhine at the head of a French army, and reduces Fort Kehl - ibid.
1734 He is killed by a cannon ball at the fiege of Philipfburg ib.
Philipfburg furrenders - - 25
Rapid progrefs of the French arms in Italy - ibid.
1735 The Emperor fues for peace, and obtains it through the mediation of Cardinal Fleury, the French minifter ib.
Articles of the treaty - - ibid.
1736 War between the Ruffians and Turks - 26
1737 The Ruffians ravage the Crimea, enter the Ukraine, and make themfelves mafters of Oczakow - ibid.
1738 The emperor attacks the Turks on the fide of Hungary 27
The imperial generals repeatedly defeated - ibid.
The Turks obtain an advantageous peace - ibid.
Death of the Emperor Charles VI. the laft prince of the ancient houfe of Auftria, without male iffue ibid.

LETTER XXXVII.

Progrefs of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1739, when Spain and Great Britain engaged in a Maritime War, occafioned by certain Commercial Difputes—an Account of the principal Events in that War—the taking of Porto Bello, the Siege of Carthagena, and the Expedition of Commodore Anfon to the South Sea.

Decline of the Dutch commerce - 28
Flourifhing trade of England, from the Reftoration to the Revolution - - ibid.
1664 Colbert eftablifhes the French Eaft India Company 29
French Weft India trade becomes confiderable ibid.
Vaft European trade of France during the period under review - - - ibid.

A. D.		Pag
The French commerce receives a temporary check from the revocation of the EDICT OF NANTZ [A. D. 1686]	30
The finer manufactures introduced by French refugees into England, where every ingenious art and branch of manufacture is carried to a high degree of perfection	ibid.
The English and French colonies in North America enlarge their boundaries, increase in wealth and population, and consume a great quantity of European goods -	31
The colonies of both nations, established in the West India islands, furnish a yet more beneficial trade -	ibid.
Account of the produce of those islands, and of the wants of the inhabitants - -	ibid.
Rise of the Buccaneers or Freebooters -	32
They at first subsist by the hunting of wild cattle	ibid.
Their piratical expeditions, and singular manners	33
The Spanish vessels more particularly marked out as the objects of their rapacity - -	34
Their booty originally carried to the island of Tortuga, but afterward to Jamaica - - -	35
Their manner of dividing their plunder -	ibid.
Their avidity of enjoying the present moment, and disregard of future consequences - -	ibid.
They commonly followed the Spanish Galleons and Flota as far as the channel of Bahama -	36
Temerity of Peter Legrand - -	ibid.
The Buccaneers form themselves into large bodies, and plunder the Spanish settlements -	37
Account of the exploits of Montbars, who acquired the name of the *Exterminator* - -	ibid.
——— of Michael de Basco and Francis Lolonois	38
1667	Their expedition to the Gulf of Venezuela	ibid.
Exploits of Henry Morgan, a native of the principality of Wales - -	39
1668	He takes Porto Bello, and finds in it a rich booty	ibid.
Returns to Jamaica, and plans an expedition against Maracaybo. - - -	40
1669	Finds the town totally deserted, and is informed of the arrival of a Spanish squadron at the entrance of the lake	ib.
His intrepidity and presence of mind -	ibid.
Resolute conduct of the Spanish admiral -	ibid.
Daring courage of Morgan and his followers -	41
They make their escape with their booty, and arrive safe at Port Royal, in the island of Jamaica -	42
1670	Encouraged by his success, Morgan again puts to sea, accompanied with a more numerous body of adventurers, and reduces the castle of Chagre - -	42
Sails up the river of the same name, and proceeds over land to Panama - -	ibid.
Makes himself master of the place, and deliberately pillages it	43

A. D. Page
Falls in love with a fair captive, who resists all his amorous solicitations - - 43
Divides the booty among his followers, and returns to Port Royal with one hundred thousand pounds as his own share - - - 44
Various causes which contributed to the suppression of the Buccaneers - - ibid.
Jamaica enriched by their piratical expeditions ibid.
Contraband trade carried on from that island with the Spanish settlements on the continent of America 45
Guarda Costas stationed to prevent such trade - 46
The commanders of those vessels guilty of many cruel abuses - - - ibid.
The people of England, incensed at the violences of the Spanish commanders, call loudly for vengeance - ibid.
1739 Convention of Pardo; by which the King of Spain agrees to pay the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification, to the subjects of Great Britain, for their losses, in consequence of the seizures made by the Guarda Costas - - ibid.
Petitions against the Convention presented from all the trading towns in the kingdom - - 47
War declared against Spain [Oct. 19.] - ibid.
1740 Porto Bello taken by Admiral Vernon - 48
Account of that Spanish settlement - ibid.
Its decay, in latter times, by reason of the abolition of the Galleons, and the substitution of Register-ships in their place - - - 49
The joy of the English nation on the taking of Porto Bello ibid.
Masterly speech of Sir Robert Walpole on the subject of Patriotism - - - 50
1741 Expedition against Carthagena - - 51
Description of that city and harbour - ibid.
Great strength of the works - - 52
Castillo Grande taken by the British troops, and a passage opened into the harbour - - ibid.
The troops disembarked - - 53
Disagreement between the Admiral and General, and shameful inactivity of both - - ibid.
Unsuccessful attack upon Fort St. Lazarus - 54
Misconduct of the besiegers - - ibid.
The rainy season sets in, and the enterprise is abandoned 55
Vast mortality on board the fleet and transports ibid.
Vernon and Wentworth, the commanders in chief, return home, after some other abortive attempts, with the loss of near twenty thousand men - - 56
Expedition of Anson to the South Sea - ibid.
He passes Cape Horn, and reaches the island of Juan Fernandez - - - ibid

A 4 Takes

A. D. Page

Takes ſeveral prizes off the coaſt of Chili, and plunders Paita, on the coaſt of Peru - - - 56

1742 Sails for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon - - - 57

Miſſes her, and ſteers for Canton in China - ibid.

1743 Having refitted the Centurion, his only remaining ſhip, he again launches into the Pacific Ocean, and captures the galleon on her return from Acapulco, laden with treaſure ibid.

1744 Returns to England by the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spaniſh treaſure is carried to the Tower of London with great parade - - ibid.

LETTER XXVIII.

General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, *to the treaty of Dreſden, in* 1745, *and the Confirmation of the Treaty of Breſlaw.*

1740 The Pragmatic Sanction, guarantied by almoſt all the European powers, ſecures to the Archducheſs Maria Thereſa, the late Emperor's eldeſt daughter, married to Francis of Lorrain, Grand-Duke of Tuſcany, the ſucceſſion to the whole Auſtrian dominions - - 58

Enumeration of the kingdoms and provinces that compoſed that vaſt inheritance - - ibid.

The Archducheſs receives the homage of the States of Auſtria, and alſo of the Italian provinces, and of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia - 59

She gains the hearts of all her ſubjects by her popular affability, and particularly endears herſelf to the Hungarians ibid.

Riſe of the greatneſs of Frederic III. King of Pruſſia 60

1741 He lays claim to part of Sileſia, and makes himſelf maſter of Breſlaw, its capital - - ibid.

Battle of Molwitz - - 61

The Auſtrians defeated, after an obſtinate engagement ib.

This victory followed by the reduction of Glatz and Neiſs, and the entire ſubmiſſion of the province of Sileſia ib.

The ſucceſs of the King of Pruſſia aſtoniſhes all Europe 62

The Archducheſs, Maria Thereſa, blamed for not acceding to his claims - - ibid.

The king of France reſolves to ſupport the pretenſions of the Elector of Bavaria to the kingdom of Bohemia and the Imperial crown - - - - 63

Treaty to that purport concluded with the Elector at Nymphenburg - - - ibid.

League between Lewis XV. and the King of Pruſſia for the diviſion of the Auſtrian dominions - 64

A French

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

A French army enters Germany, under the Marefchals Belleifle and Broglio - - 64
The King of Great Britain concludes with the confederates a treaty of neutrality for the Electorate of Hanover ib.
But fends to the Archduchefs a fubfidy of three hundred thoufand pounds, granted by the Britifh parliament 65
The Elector of Bavaria, having formed a junction with the French forces under Broglio, reduces Lintz, the capital of Upper Auftria, and threatens Vienna - ibid.
The Archduchefs retires to Prefburg in Hungary, where fhe affembles the States of that kingdom, and makes them acquainted with the defperate ftate of her affairs ibid.
Zeal and loyalty of the Hungarian nobles - 66
Headed by old count Palfy, they march to the relief of Vienna with thirty thoufand men - - ibid.
The French and Bavarians take their route into Bohemia, and inveft Prague - - - ibid.
It is carried by affault, and the Elector of Bavaria is there crowned King of Bohemia - - - ibid.
1742 And elected Emperor at Frankfort [Jan. 4.] under the title of Charles VII. - - ibid.
The caufe of the Archduchefs, Maria Therefa, warmly efpoufed by the King and people of Great Britain 67
Strong oppofition in Parliament - - 68
Refignation of Sir Robert Walpole - - ibid.
New Miniftry - - - ibid.
But no change of meafures - - ibid.
Liberal fupplies voted for the fupport of the Queen of Hungary (as the Archduchefs was then commonly called), and fixteen thoufand Britifh troops fent over to Flanders, in order to make a diverfion in her favour, in conjunction with twenty thoufand Hanoverians and Heffians 69
Kevenhuller, the Auftrian General, recovers Lintz, diflodges the French from many other places, enters the Emperor's hereditary dominions, and takes Munich, the capital of Bavaria - - - - 70
The King of Pruffia marches to the affiftance of his allies ib.
Battle of Czaflaw - - - ibid.
The Auftrians, under Prince Charles of Lorrain, obliged to quit the field, after having been mafters of it for fome time - - - - 71
The King of Pruffia, fick of fuch bloody victories, turns his thoughts toward peace - - ibid.
Treaty of Breslaw - - ibid.
Confternation of the court of France - - ibid.
Finding themfelves deferted by the Pruffians, the Marefchals Belleifle and Broglio retire under the cannon of Prague 72
Preffed by the Auftrians, under Prince Lobkowitz and Prince Charles of Lorrain, the French Generals offer to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia,

A. D. Page
Bohemia, provided they were permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage - 72
This proposal haughtily rejected by the Archduchess, and the demand of surrendering prisoners of war treated with disdain by Belleisle - - - ibid.
Siege of Prague - - - ibid.
Mareschal Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, in vain attempts its relief - 73
Gallant defence of Mareschal Belleisle - ibid.
He meditates a retreat, and accomplishes it, in the depth of winter, without the loss of a single man by the enemy 74
But loses a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season - - - - ibid.
Progress of the war in Italy and the Mediterranean 75
The King of Spain attempts to make himself master of the Austrian dominions in Italy - - ibid.
Alarmed at the encroachments of the House of Bourbon, the King of Sardinia enters into an alliance with the Archduchess and the King of Great Britain ibid.
All the other Italian powers affect neutrality - ibid.
Proceedings of the British fleet in the Mediterranean ibid.
Admiral Haddock prevented from engaging the Spanish fleet, by the interposition of a French Admiral with a flag of truce - - - 76
Intrepid behaviour of Commodore Martin in the bay of Naples - - - - 77
Various events of the war in Italy - - ibid.
1743 The French make proposals of peace - 78
Elated with her unexpected success, and rendered confident by the support of so powerful an ally as the King of Great Britain, the Archduchess haughtily rejects all pacific propositions - - - ibid.
The misconduct of the British ministry, in entering so deeply into the continental quarrel, severely reprobated by the opposition in parliament - ibid.
The good fortune of the Archduchess continues to attend her - - - - 79
The Austrians dislodge the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate, and drive them from the Danube to the Rhine - - - ibid.
Operations on the side of Flanders - 79
The French assemble a powerful army on the Maine, in order to prevent the Austrians, under Prince Charles of Lorrain, from joining the allies commanded by the Earl of Stair - - - ibid.
The King of Great Britain arrives in the camp of the allies at Aschaffenburg - - - 80
Battle of Dettingen, [June 26.] - 81
The French defeated, but not pursued - ibid.
Conjectures concerning the cause of that timid caution 82

Character

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Character of the Duke de Noailles, the French General 83

The allied army, though reinforced with twenty thousand Dutch troops, distributed into winter quarters, without hazarding any action, after the battle of Dettingen ib.

The Earl of Stair dissatisfied with this inactivity imposed upon him by his sovereign, resigns in disgust ibid.

Operations in Italy - - - - ibid.

Bloody but indecisive battle of Campo Santo - 84

Secret negociation of the King of Sardinia with the House of Bourbon - - - - ibid.

Treaty of Worms, between the Archduchess and the King of Sardinia - - - - ibid.

Her haughty behaviour and ambitious claims rouse the jealousy of the German powers - - - 85

They privately negociate with the Emperor Charles VII. at Frankfort - - - ibid.

Secret Treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontainbleau [Oct. 25.] - - 86

Twenty thousand French troops, under the Prince of Conti, ordered to join the Spanish army in Italy, in consequence of that treaty, and the French and Spanish squadrons directed to act in concert, and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean - - ibid.

A correspondence entered into with the English and Scottish Jacobites, and an invasion planned by the French ministry, in favour of the Pretender - ibid.

An army of fifteen thousand men assembled on the coast of France, under Count Saxe, for that purpose 87

1744 Part of the troops embarked, and the first division of the transports put to sea - - - - ibid.

Driven back by a violent storm, and the projected invasion entirely defeated by the arrival of a superior British fleet - - - - ibid.

The French and Spanish squadrons, in the harbour of Toulon, prepare to give battle to the British fleet in the Mediterranean - - - 88

Desperate sea-fight near the bay of Hieres - 89

The French and Spaniards forced to retire with the loss of one ship - - - - ibid.

Very different behaviour of the British Admirals, Matthews and Lestock - - - - ibid.

Their conduct becomes the subject of a parliamentary enquiry - - - - ibid.

Their trials - - - - ibid.

Declarations of war issued against each other by the Kings of France and England - - 90

Their mutual accusations - - ibid.

Campaign in Italy - - - 91

Rapid progress of the French and Spaniards - ibid.

They force the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa Franca, and

A. D. Page

and carry by aſſault the ſtrong poſt of Chateau Dauphin, where the King of Sardinia commanded in perſon 91
Paſs the Barricades, reduce the caſtle of Demont, and inveſt the town of Coni - - - 92
The King of Sardinia is defeated in attempting the relief of Coni, yet the beſiegers are obliged to relinquiſh their enterpriſe - - - 93
Operations in the ſouth of Italy - - ibid.
Prince Lobkowitz, the Auſtrian General, invades the kingdom of Naples, and ſends Count Brown to ſurpriſe Velitri in the night - - - ibid.
The place is taken, and a prodigious booty amaſſed, but the Auſtrians are forced to retire before morning - 94
The negociations at Frankfort terminate in a treaty, concluded through the influence of France between the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, with the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Elector Palatine 95
Stipulations in that Treaty - - ibid.
Conqueſts of the French in Flanders - ibid.
They are forced to divide their forces, in order to oppoſe the Auſtrians on the ſide of Alſace - 96
The Auſtrians obliged to retire, and march to the relief of Bohemia, invaded by the Pruſſians - ibid.
On the approach of the Auſtrians, Saxons, and Hungarians, under Prince Charles of Lorrain, the King of Pruſſia finds himſelf under the neceſſity of evacuating Bohemia, and retiring into Sileſia - - 97
Purſued thither, in the depth of winter, he loſes the greater part of his army, with all his heavy artillery and baggage ibid.
1745 Death of the Emperor, Charles VII. - 98
His ſon, Maximilian Joſeph, concludes a treaty of peace with the Archducheſs, Maria Thereſa - ibid.
The French and Spaniards, notwithſtanding this treaty, perſiſt in continuing the war, and in oppoſing the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne 99
The Republic of Genoa forms an alliance with the Houſe of Bourbon - - - ibid.
Rapid progreſs of the French and Spaniſh forces in Italy conducted by Don Philip and Maillebois - 100
The city of Pavia is taken by aſſault, and Milan forced to ſurrender - - - ibid.
Don Philip paſſes the Tanaro, and compels the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies to take ſhelter behind the Po ibid.
The French army in Flanders, under Mareſchal Saxe, inveſts Tournay - - - 101
The allies reſolve to attempt the relief of the place ibid.
Poſition of the two armies - - ibid.
Battle of Fontenoy [April 30.] - - 102
Gallant behaviour of the Britiſh infantry - ibid.

A. D. Page

The cavalry prevented from coming to their ſupport 103
The infantry obliged to retreat, after the moſt vigorous efforts - - - - - ibid.
Extravagant joy of the French in the hour of victory ib.
Mareſchal Saxe and Count Louendahl reduce every fortified place in Auſtrian Flanders before the cloſe of the campaign - - - - 104
The Grand Duke of Tuſcany, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the houſe of Bourbon, raiſed to the head of the empire, under the title of Francis I. - - ibid.
Peace reſtored to Germany by the *Treaty of Dreſden*, and the confirmation of the *Treaty of Breſlaw* - ibid.

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the Domeſtic Hiſtory of Great Britain, including ſome Foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the Reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion in Scotland, in 1746.

1742 Violent oppoſition in Parliament, during the whole adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole - 105
On his reſignation, the reputed patriots are taken into office - - - - 106
They contradict their former profeſſions, and diſappoint the public hopes - - - ibid.
1743 The diſſatisfaction, occaſioned by the impolitic proſecution of the continental war, encourages the Jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the Pretender 107
1744 The alarm, occaſioned by the projected invaſion in his favour, unites the Whigs in ſupport of the government 107
Loyal addreſſes preſented to the throne from all the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom - ibid.
Many cauſes of national diſcontent remain - 108
Circumſtances that contributed to revive the popular clamour againſt the meaſures of the court - ibid.
Factious reſcript of the King of Pruſſia to his ambaſſador at the court of London - - ibid.
Languor of the war in Flanders - 109
New miniſtry, under Mr. Henry Pelham, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer ibid.
He gives to it the name of the BROAD BOTTOM, as comprehending able and honeſt men of all parties 110
The wide baſe on which Mr. Pelham founds his adminiſtration, leaves little room for parliamentary oppoſition ib.
1745 Freſh diſcontents occaſioned by the fatal battle of Fontenoy, and the accumulating expences of the war - ibid.
The machinations of the Jacobites renewed - ibid.
The young Pretender, encouraged by their promiſes and

flattering

A. D. Page

flattering invitations, lands in the North-Weſt of Scotland - - - - 111
Is joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and ſome other Highland Chiefs - - - - ibid.
His naked and defenceleſs condition artfully repreſented as a proof of his confidence in the affections of the Scottiſh nation - - - 112
He ſoon finds himſelf at the head of a large body of hardy mountaineers - - - ibid.
Yet the ardour to riſe in arms not general in the Highlands - - - ibid.
The heads of many Clans attached to the Houſe of Hanover - - - - 113
State of the Low Country of Scotland - ibid.
The people in general, firmly attached to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, jealous of their civil and religious privileges, and equally alarmed at the idea of the Pretender, and of the Highlanders, whoſe ravages they had repeatedly experienced - - - 114
Account of the taking of the iſland of Cape Breton ibid.
This fortunate event revives the drooping ſpirits of the nation, and confirms the zeal of the friends of the Houſe of Hanover in Scotland - - 115
The young Pretender takes poſſeſſion of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee, every where proclaiming his father "King of Great Britain," and ſeizing the public money for his uſe - - - - 116
He reviews his forces at Perth, and finds them amount to about three thouſand men - - ibid.
Being there joined by ſeveral noblemen, he marches toward Edinburgh - - - ibid.
One of the gates of that city treacherouſly opened to his followers, who make themſelves maſters of it, but not of the Caſtle - - - 117
He takes up his reſidence in the palace of Holyrood houſe, and there keeps a kind of court - ibid.
Orders his father to be proclaimed at the Croſs of Edinburgh, and three Maniſeſtoes to be read by the Purſuivants - - ibid.
Subſtance of thoſe manifeſtos - - ibid.
The young Pretender, Charles, advances againſt the royal army, under general Cope, encamped near Preſtonpans, and gains a complete victory - - 118
Inſtead of marching into England, he returns to the palace of Holyrood houſe to enjoy the vain parade of royalty 119
After loſing much time he reſolves to march into England, and publiſhes a new manifeſto - ibid.
That manifeſto has not the deſired effect 120

A.D. Page

It does not effectually remove the fears of the stock-holders, while it fills the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion - - - - 120

Loyal addresses presented to George II. on his return from his German dominions, and an association formed by the most eminent English merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers, for the support of public credit - ibid.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* suspended, and several persons, suspected of treasonable practices, taken into custody 121

The militia assembled, six thousand Dutch auxiliaries landed, and the flower of the British troops recalled from Flanders - - - - ibid.

Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, the young Pretender enters England, and makes himself master of Carlisle - - - - - ibid.

The whole southern part of the kingdom filled with consternation and terror - - - ibid.

An invasion from France meditated in favour of the Pretender's claim - - - - ibid.

The rebels march to Manchester, where the pretended Prince of Wales establishes his head-quarters 122

Though deceived by his English friends, who were forward in professing, and backward in joining him, he advances to Derby [Dec. 5.] ibid.

Having gained a day's march of the royal army, under the Duke of Cumberland, he might possibly have made himself master of the capital, had he continued his march - - - - - 123

Probable consequences of such event - ibid.

Discouraged by the timidity of the English Jacobites, it is resolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland Chiefs, to march back into Scotland 124

The retreat of the rebels conducted with unparalleled intrepidity, regularity, and expedition - ibid.

Their rear-guard, consisting of the Clan of the Macphersons, repulses a party of horse at the village of Clifton, near Penrith - - - 125

They continue their march to Carlisle - ibid.

There the Pretender draws up his forces, with a resolution to wait the approach of the royal army, but finding that it had been greatly reinforced, he passes into Scotland ibid.

The rebel garrison in Carlisle surrenders to the duke of Cumberland - - - - - 126

State of Scotland during the expedition of the Pretender into England - - - - 127

Many persons of distinction had embraced his cause, and among others Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers 128

Character and conduct of that extraordinary man ibid.

The Pretender returns by Glasgow, which he fleeces 130

The

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1746	The rebels make themſelves maſters [Jan. 8.] of the town of Stirling, and inveſt the caſtle -	ibid.
	General Hawley advances to the relief of that fortreſs	131
	He is met by the rebels, and defeated near Falkirk	ibid.
	The Pretender imprudently returns to the Siege of Stirling Caſtle, inſtead of taking advantage of the general conſternation produced by his victory -	132
	The royal army in Scotland reinforced, and the Duke of Cumberland appointed to command it -	ibid.
	The duke arrives at Edinburgh, where he is welcomed as a deliverer by the Whigs - -	ibid.
	Charles raiſes the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle, and marches northward - - -	133
	The duke of Cumberland follows him -	ibid.
	The royal army, contrary to all probability, is permitted to paſs the deep and rapid river Spey without oppoſition	134
	Motives of the rebels for ſuch a conduct -	ibid.
	The Pretender fails in an attempt to ſurpriſe the King's troops at Nairn - - -	135
	Battle of Culloden [April 16.] - -	ibid.
	Rebel army totally routed and purſued with great ſlaughter - - - -	ibid.
	The Pretender, after ſuffering incredible hardſhips, makes his eſcape to France - -	136
	Cruelly treated there - -	138
	The rebellion in Scotland finally ſuppreſſed -	ibid.
	Barbarity of the royal army in the Highlands -	ibid.
	Execution of the rebel officers - -	139
	——— of the rebel Peers - -	ibid.
	Behaviour of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat	ibid.
	The Highland Chiefs deprived of their excluſive hereditary juriſdiction - - -	140

LETTER XXX.

General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Treaty of Dreſden, in December 1745, *to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in* 1748.

1745	State of the contending powers - -	140
1746	Mareſchal Saxe takes Bruſſels in the month of February	141
	And by the middle of July, Lewis XV. ſees himſelf maſter of all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault -	ibid.
	The allied army, under Prince Charles of Lorrain, attempts in vain to obſtruct the progreſs of the French arms - - -	142
	Siege of Namur - - -	ibid.
	The town is forced to ſurrender on the ſixth, and the citadel	

A. D. Page
del on the sixteenth day, after the trenches were opened - - - - 142
1746 Bloody but indecisive battle of Roucoux [Oct. 1.] 143
Both armies go into winter quarters - ibid.
Affairs of Italy - - - ibid.
A private negociation between the Kings of France and Sardinia offends the court of Spain - 144
An almost total inaction, on the part of the House of Bourbon, the consequence of that misunderstanding ibid.
Progress of the arms of the confederates - 145
A reconciliation takes place between the courts of Versailles and Madrid - - - 146
French and Spaniards repulsed with great loss, in attempting to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro ibid.
Death and character of Philip V. ibid.
He is succeeded in the Spanish throne by his son Ferdinand VI. - - - - ibid.
Retreat of the French and Spaniards, under Don Philip and Maillebois, in Italy - - ibid.
They are defeated by the King of Sardinia at Rotto Fredo 147
Take shelter under the cannon of Genoa - ibid.
Don Philip and Maillebois continue their retreat, and Genoa surrenders to the confederates - ibid.
Arrogance and rapacity of Botta, the Austrian General ibid.
The King of Sardinia, from political considerations, opposes the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, and advises an expedition into Provence - 148
It is undertaken with an army of fifty thousand men, under Count Brown - - - ibid.
He is forced to retreat, and to relinquish the siege of Antibes - - - - 149
The Genoese expel the Austrian garrison, and recover their liberty and independency - - ibid.
Naval transactions - - - ibid.
La Bourdonnais, the French admiral in the East Indies, makes himself master of the English settlement of Madras - - - - 149
The English fail in an attempt to surprise Port L'Orient, on the coast of France - - 150
Miscarriage of a French armament for the recovery of Cape Breton - - - 151
Great preparations of the allies for prosecuting the war in Italy and Flanders - - - ibid.
The two branches of the house of Bourbon no less active in preparing for a final trial of strength - 152
1747 The allied army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, takes the field early, but lies inactive for six

A. D. Page

1747 ſix weeks expoſed to all the inclemency of the weather, and almoſt deſtitute of forage and proviſions - 152

Mareſchal Saxe, who had kept the French army warm within its cantonments, begins the campaign [April 16.] with the invaſion of Dutch Brabant - 153

Sluys, Sandburg, Hulſt, and many other places, reduced ibid.

Filled with conſternation at the progreſs of the French arms, the Dutch populace clamour againſt their rulers, and compel the magiſtrates, in many places, to declare the Prince of Orange ſtadtholder - 154

He is appointed by a general aſſembly of the States, " Stadtholder, Captain General, and Admiral in Chief of all the United Provinces." - - ibid.

Speech of Count Bentinck on the occaſion - ibid.

The beneficial effects of this revolution on the common cauſe of the confederates ſoon conſpicuous - 155

During all theſe important tranſactions, the allied army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, performed nothing, being over-awed by the ſuperior generalſhip of Mareſchal Saxe - - - ibid

The French reſolve to beſiege Maeſtricht, and the allies to prevent them - - - ibid.

Battle of Val [July 1.] - - - 156

After various turns of fortune, the Duke of Cumberland is obliged to quit the field, and retire to Maeſtricht 157

Mareſchal Saxe detaches Count Lowendahl, with thirty thouſand men to inveſt Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification in Dutch Brabant - 158

Siege of that important place - - ibid.

It is taken by ſtorm [Sept. 14.] - - 159

The French become maſters of the whole navigation of the Scheld - - - ibid.

Operations in Italy - - - 160

The Mareſchal de Belleiſle paſſes the river Var, takes poſſeſſion of Nice, and reduces the fortreſſes of Montalban, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia - ibid.

Genoa inveſted by a powerful army of Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under count Schuylemberg - 160

Alarmed at the progreſs of the Mareſchal de Belleiſle, Schuylemberg raiſes the ſiege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy - 161

The chevalier de Belleiſle endeavours, in the mean time, to penetrate into Piedmont by the way of Dauphiny ibid.

He is killed in attempting to force the paſs of Exilles; and his army, after having been repulſed in three ſucceſſive aſſaults, is obliged to retire with the loſs of five thouſand men - - - - 162

A. D.

The Marſhal de Belleiſle retreats toward the Var, on being informed of his brother's fate - - 162
Naval tranſactions - - - ibid.
Six French ſhips of war, and four Eaſt Indiamen, taken by the Engliſh fleet, commanded by the admirals Anſon and Warren - - - 163
Commodore Fox captures forty-ſix French Weſt Indiamen - - - - ibid.
And Admiral Hawke defeats a French ſquadron, under the command of Monſ. de Letendeur, and takes ſix ſhips of the line - - - ibid.
Theſe loſſes diſpoſe Lewis XV. to liſten to propoſals of peace - - - - ibid.
State of the contending powers - 164
1748 Congreſs opened at Aix-la-Chapelle - ibid.
Siege of Maeſtricht - - - ibid.
Ceſſation of arms - - 165
Tranſactions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies - ibid.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle [Oct. 7.] - - ibid.
Stipulations in that treaty - - 166
As favourable as the allies had any reaſon to expect ibid.
Reflections on the folly of France and England in ſo long continuing a waſteful war - - 168

LETTER XXXI.

France, Spain, and Great Britain, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Renewal of Hoſtilities in 1755, with a general View of the Diſputes in the Eaſt-Indies, and a particular Account of the Riſe of the War in America.

1748 Proſperity and happineſs of Europe after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle - - 169
That happineſs diſturbed by alarming riots in England, and a violent diſpute between the clergy and the parliaments in France - - - ibid.
Ambitious projects of the French in America and the Eaſt Indies - - - - ibid.
They attempt to draw the Spaniards into their views 170
Their intrigues at the court of Madrid defeated by Mr. Keene, the Britiſh ambaſſador - 171
Pacific diſpoſition of Ferdinand VI. - 172
1754 Diſgrace of Encenada his prime miniſter - ibid.
Retroſpective view of European affairs in the Eaſt Indies 173
M. Dupleix, governor of Pondichery, conceives the idea of advancing the intereſt of the French Eaſt India company by the acquiſition of territory - ibid.
State of the peninſula of Indoſtan - 174

C O N T E N T S.

A. D. Page

1754 Intrigues of M. Dupleix with the Indian princes ibid.

He procures the Subahſhip of the Decan for Murzafa Jing, and the Nabobſhip of Arcot for Chunda Saheb [A. D. 1750.] - - ibid.

The Engliſh ſupport the pretenſions of Mahomed Ally, ſon of the late Nabob of Arcot - 176

Firſt appearance of Mr. Clive in a military capacity ibid.

He makes himſelf maſter of Arcot [A. D. 1751.] ibid.

Is beſieged in the place - - 177

His gallant defence - - ibid.

He obliges the French and Indians to retire, and defeats them in the plains of Arni - - ibid.

Chunda Saheb made priſoner, and put to death by the Rajah of Tanjour [A. D. 1752.] - 178

Mahommed Ally remains undiſputed Nabob of Arcot, Mr. Dupleix is recalled, and a conditional treaty is concluded between the French and Engliſh Eaſt India companies - - - - ibid.

State of the province of Nova Scotia at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle - - - ibid.

Encouragement given by the Britiſh government for ſettling it, and the town of Halifax founded [A. D. 1749.] 179

Diſputes between France and England concerning the limits of that province - - ibid.

And alſo concerning the boundaries of the Britiſh provinces to the ſouthward - - 180

The French attempt to unite, by a chain of forts, their two extenſive colonies of Canada and Louiſiana, and to confine the Engliſh colonies to that tract of country which lies between the Allegany mountains and the ſea ibid.

This ſcheme embraced by la Galiſſoniere, Governor of New France, and de la Joinquiere, commander in chief of the French forces in North America - 181

The conferences relatlve to the limits of Nova Scotia broken off [A. D. 1753.] - - ibid.

The French commence hoſtilities in Nova Scotia, and on the frontiers of Virginia - - 182

Orders ſent to the governors of the Britiſh ſettlements to oppoſe force by force - - ibid.

Comparative view of the ſtate of the French and Engliſh colonies - - - - 182

The Engliſh colonies more powerful, but want concert ibid.

Meeting of deputies from all the Engliſh colonies, with the chiefs of the *Indians of the Six Nations*, at Albany 183

Backwardneſs of the Indians to engage in hoſtilities ibid.

Major Waſhington diſpatched from Virginia to watch the motions of the enemy - - 184

Attacked

A.D. Page
Attacked by de Villier, the French commandant on the Monaungahela, he defends himself with vigour - 184
1755 Informed of those violent proceedings, the courts of London and Versailles prepare for war - 185
Alcide and the Lys, two French ships of the line, taken by the Captains Howe and Andrews - ibid.
All the French forts within the limits of Nova Scotia reduced by Col. Monckton - - 186
Expedition under Major General Braddock against the French Forts on the Ohio - - ibid.
Misconduct of Braddock - - 187
He is attacked by a concealed body of French and Indians ibid.
Is routed and slain - - 188
The artillery and baggage of the English army fall into the hands of the French - - ibid.
Two expeditions planned; one against the French fort at Crown-Point, the other against that at Niagara 189
Both fail - - - 190
But General Johnson defeats the Baron Dieskau, commander in chief of the French forces in Canada ibid.
Above three hundred French merchant ships are brought into the ports of England - - 191
From political motives, the French make no reprisals ibid.
Earthquake at Lisbon - - 192
Generosity of the British parliament to the Portuguese on that occasion - - - ibid.

LETTER XXXII.

General View of the State of Europe, in 1756, with an Account of the Operations of War, in all Parts of the World, until the Conquest of Hanover by the French, in 1757.

1756 Spain, Portugal, and the United Provinces, seem determined to remain neutral - - 192
League formed by the court of Vienna for stripping the King of Prussia of his dominions - 193
The French threaten the electorate of Hanover - ibid.
His Britannic Majesty negociates a subsidiary treaty with the court of Petersburg - - ibid.
The King of Prussia declares against the introduction of foreign troops into the empire, and concludes with Great Britain a treaty on that principle [Jan. 16] - 194
Alliance between France and the Imperial court, in conjunction with Russia and Sweden [May 1.] - ibid.
The French invade the island of Minorca - 195
The King of Britain declares war against France ibid.

C O N T E N T S.

A. D. Page
1756 Decline of the martial ſpirit in England, and its cauſe ib.
The people alarmed at the rumour of a French invaſion 196
German troops brought over for the protection of the kingdom - - - - ibid.
State of the Britiſh miniſtry - - 197
A fleet ſent to the relief of Minorca under Admiral Byng ibid.
He deſpairs of ſucceſs on his arrival at Gibraltar 198
His letter to that purport - - ibid.
Indeciſive engagement with the French fleet 199
Gallant behaviour of Rear-Admiral Weſt - ibid.
Byng returns to Gibraltar - - ibid.
Fort St. Philip ſurrenders, and the whole iſland of Minorca ſubmits to the arms of France - - 200
Particulars of the ſiege - - ibid.
Byng is ſuperſeded and brought home under arreſt ibid.
Joy of the French, and dejection of the people of England 201
Plan of operations for the campaign in America ibid.
General Abercrombie aſſumes the command of the Britiſh forces at Albany [June 5.] - - 202
He waits for the arrival of Lord Loudon, the commander in chief, till the ſeaſon of action is over - 203
The French make themſelves maſters of Oſwego ibid.
Britiſh affairs in the Eaſt Indies - - ibid.
Admiral Watſon reduces the fortreſs of Gheria, on the coaſt of Malabar - - ibid.
Deſcription of the province of Bengal - 204
Courſe of the Ganges through it - ibid.
Great fertility of the ſoil - - 206
Induſtry of the inhabitants - - ibid.
Retroſpective view of the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company in that province - ibid.
Company's agents, at the factory of Soota-nutty, obtain a *phirmaund*, or patent, from Aurengzebe [A. D. 1690.] 207
They erect Fort William at Calcutta [A. D. 1696.] 208
Procure from the Great Mogul paſſports, or *duſtucks* ibid.
This privilege excites the jealouſy of both the European and Indian powers - - 209
Surajah Dowla, Nabob of Bengal, determines to puniſh the ſuppoſed abuſe of it - - ibid.
He marches to Calcutta at the head of a great army, and beſieges Fort William - - 210
Mr. Drake, the Governor, makes his eſcape on board one of the Company's ſhips - - 211
The place gallantly defended by the Company's ſervants under Mr. Holwell - - - ibid.
Violently entered by the Nabob's troops, and the garriſon made priſoners [June 20.] - - 212

Mr.

A. D. Page

Mr. Holwell and his companions confined in the dungeon of the fort, commonly called the *Black Hole* 212
Their extreme diſtreſs for want of room and air ibid.
Out of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons ſhut up, only twenty-three are brought out alive - 213
The affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company ſeem utterly ruined in Bengal - - - 214
Affairs of Germany - - ibid.
Spirited manifeſto of his Britannic Majeſty - ibid.
The King of Pruſſia, on receiving an evaſive anſwer from the court of Vienna, reſolves to anticipate the deſigns of his enemies - - - ibid.
He invades Saxony, and makes himſelf maſter of Dreſden 215
Auguſtus III. King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, takes refuge with his army in the ſtrong camp of Pirna ibid.
The King of Pruſſia ſends two detachments into Bohemia, under the Mareſchals Keith and Schwerin 216
He enters that kingdom in perſon - ibid
Finds the Auſtrians encamped at Lowoſitz - 217
Takes poſt over-againſt them - - 218
Battle of Lowoſitz - - 219
The Auſtrians compelled to quit the field, after an obſtinate and bloody diſpute - - 220
The Pruſſian monarch, by a maſterly manœuvre, induces Mareſchal Brown to retire behind the Egra - ibid.
The Saxon army ſurrenders - - 221
The King of Pruſſia evacuates Bohemia, and takes up his winter quarters in Saxony - - ibid.
Makes himſelf maſter of the archives of Dreſden, and obtains inconteſtible proofs of the conſpiracy formed againſt him by the courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, and of the ſhare which the Elector of Saxony had in that conſpiracy - - - ibid
Change in the Britiſh miniſtry - - 223
Mr. Pitt, the moſt popular man in the kingdom, accepts the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, is made chancellor of the exchequer ibid.
1757 Trial of Admiral Byng - - 224
He is found guilty of a breach of the twelfth article of war - - - ibid.
Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry ibid.
Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons in their favour 225
Scruples of ſome member of the Court Martial, in regard to the ſentence of Admiral Byng - ibid.
He is ſhot on board of ſhip in Portſmouth harbour 226
Behaved with compoſure and dignity on the occaſion, and delivered

delivered to the Marefchal of the Admiralty a paper in vindication of his character - - 226
Execution of the fanatical Damien, who attempted to ftab the king of France - - 228
Horrid circumftances with which it was accompanied ib.
French army of eighty thoufand men, under the Marefchal d'Etrees, paffes the Rhine in order to invade the electorate of Hanover - - - ibid.
Smaller French army commanded by the prince de Soubife, joins the Imperial army of Execution, on the Maine - - - 229
George II. difpofed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel - - - ibid.
He is oppofed by his minifters Pitt and Legge ibid.
They are deprived of their employments, and the duke of Cumberland is fent over to command an army of forty thoufand Heffians and Hanoverians, intended for the defence of the king's German dominions - 230
The duke attempts in vain to obftruct the progrefs of the Marefchal d'Etrees, who forces him to retire behind the Wefer - - - ibid.
Military preparations of the Ruffians and Auftrians ibid.
The Pruffians enter Bohemia in four divifions 231
Action of Reichenberg [April 21.] - 232
The Prince of Bevern obliges the Auftrians, under Count Konigfeg, to retire with the lofs of a thoufand men 233
Junction of the Pruffian forces - - ibid.
Battle of Prague [May 6.] - - 234
Gallant behaviour and death of Marefchal Schwerin 235
The Auftrians, after various turns of fortune, forced to give way on all fides - - ibid.
Marefchal Brown mortally wounded - 236
Great lofs of the Auftrians - - ibid.
Their main body finds refuge in Prague - ibid.
The King of Pruffia rafhly invefts that city - ibid.
And difpatches the Prince of Bevern with twenty-five thoufand men, to oppofe Marefchal Daun 237
He quits his camp and joins the Prince of Bevern, with a refolution to attack Daun - - 238
Difpofition of the Auftrian army - - ibid.
Battle of Kolin [June 18.] - - 239
The Pruffians forced to retire, after their moft vigorous efforts - - - ibid.
Prodigious flaughter on both fides - ibid.
The Pruffian monarch obliged to raife the fiege of Prague, and evacuate Bohemia - - 240
Reflections on the fiege of Prague - ibid.
——— on the battle of Kolin - 241
The Ruffians make themfelves mafters of Memel 242
Defeat the Pruffians in the battle of Grofs Jagerfdorff [Aug. 3.] - - - ibid.

The

A.D. Page

The Duke of Cumberland continues to retreat before the French army, under Marefchal d'Etrees - 243
Makes an ineffectual ftand at Haftenbeck - ibid.
Takes refuge under the cannon of Stade - ibid.
Signs the Convention of Clofter-feven, [Sept. 8.] 244
Purport of that Convention, and difputes relative to it ib.
The French having made themfelves mafters of the Electorate of Hanover, turn their forces next againft the dominions of the king of Pruffia - 245
Affailed by enemies on all fides, his ruin feems inevitable ibid.

LETTER XXXIII.

State of Europe, and the Hiftory of the general War, continued from the Convention of Clofter-feven, to the Battl of Minden or Thornhaufen, 1759.

1757 Pitt and Legge, the two popular Britifh commoners, reinftated in the adminiftration - - 246
They plan an expedition to the coaft of France ibid.
It mifcarries and difappoints the hopes of the nation 247
Inquiry into the caufe of its failure - ibid.
Military operations in America - - 248
The reduction of Louifburg projected by Lord Loudon, the Britifh Commander in Chief - - 249
That enterprife laid afide on hearing that the garrifon was reinforced, and the place protected by a ftout fleet ibid.
Progrefs of the French in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes in North America - - ibid.
They make themfelves mafters of Fort William Henry 250
Circumftances with which the taking of that place was attended - - - ibid.
Defpondency of the people of England on account of fo many loffes and difgraces - - 251
The affairs of Great Britain take a more favourable turn in the Eaft Indies - ibid.
The town of Calcutta recovered, and an advantageous peace concluded with the Subah or Nabob of Bengal 252
The Britifh commanders in that province turn their arms againft the French factories, and reduce Chandernagore ibid.
Colonel Clive, who had conducted this enterprize by land, forms the idea of humbling yet farther the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, who was backward in fulfilling his ftipulations, and difpofed to join the French - ibid.
Artful meafures which he employs for that purpofe 254
Surajah Dowlah takes alarm, and affembles his forces ib.

Battle

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page
Battle of Plassy - - - - 255
The Nabob's army defeated, and his general Meer Jaffier, who had betrayed him, saluted Sovereign of Bengal by the victors - - - 256
Surajah Dowlah put to death by order of Meerum, the son of Jaffier - - - ibid.
Treaty of the new Nabob with the English East-India Company - - - ibid.
He agrees to indemnify them for all their losses, to repay all their expences, and to enlarge their territory 257
The sum stipulated, with a donation to the fleet and army, amounted to two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling - - ibid.
Affairs of Germany - - ibid.
The generals of the *Combined Army* of French and Imperialists, propose to drive the Prussians out of Saxony 258
They pass the Saala, and summon Leipsic - ibid.
The King of Prussia advances against them - ibid.
Battle of Rosbach [Nov. 5.] - - 259
His Prussian majesty gains a complete victory over the French and Imperialists - - 260
A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, assisted by Mareschal Daun and General Nadasti, enters Silesia, and invests Schweidnitz - - - - ibid.
Nadasti carries the place by assault, [Nov. 11.] 261
The Prince of Bevern attempts, with a Prussian army, to cover Breslaw - - - ibid.
His camp is forced by the Austrian Generals, [Nov. 22.] he is made prisoner, and Breslaw surrenders ibid.
The king of Prussia arrives in Silesia, [Nov. 28.] and joins the remains of the Prince of Bevern's army ibid.
Battle of Luthen or Lissa [Dec. 5.] - ibid.
His Prussian majesty gains a decisive victory over the grand Austrian army - - - 263
Circumstances that contributed to his success ibid.
Desperate combat at the village of Luthen - ibid.
Great loss of the Austrians - - 264
Breslaw retaken by the Prussians - ibid.
The Russians obliged to return home for want of provisions; and the Swedes, who had over-run Prussian Pomerania, are forced to retire under the cannon of Stralsund - - - - ibid.
The King of Prussia's good fortune extends itself to his vanquished allies - - - 265
The Hanoverians, roused by the oppressions of the French, resume their courage, and resolve to expel their conquerors - - - - ibid.
1758 Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick puts himself at their head, by order of his Britannic majesty; and the French, after being

C O N T E N T S.

A. D. Page

being driven from post to post, are forced to repass the Rhine - - - - 266

Amiable character of the Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover - - ibid.

1758 Mr. Pitt, the British minister, becomes an advocate for vigorous measures in Germany - - 267

Second Treaty of Convention between George II. and the King of Prussia [April 11.] - - ibid.

Liberal supplies voted, by the British Parliament, for the support of the war, and a body of British troops sent to reinforce the army under Prince Ferdinand - ibid.

Change in the French ministry - - 268

The Duke de Belleisle placed at the head of the military department - - - ibid.

His speech at entering into office - - ibid.

He makes every possible exertion to communicate strength to the French army upon the Rhine - 269

Battle of Crevelt - - - ibid.

Prince Ferdinand obliges the French army, under the Count de Clermont, to retire under the cannon of Cologne, with the loss of seven thousand men - ibid.

Death and character of the Count de Gisors, only son of the Duke de Belleisle - - ibid.

The French army greatly reinforced, and the command of it assumed by M. de Contades - 270

Prince Ferdinand obliged to act on the defensive ibid.

The Duke de Broglio defeats the Hessians near Sangerhausen - - - ibid.

Prince Ferdinand repasses the Rhine, and forms a junction with the British troops - - 271

Operations of the King of Prussia - ibid.

He recovers Schweidnitz [April 16.] - ibid.

Enters Moravia, and invests Olmutz [May 27.] - 272

Marefchal Daun takes post in the neighbouring mountains, and cuts off the Prussian convoys - ibid.

The King finds himself under the necessity of raising the siege of Olmutz [July 1.] - - - 273

His glorious retreat - - - ibid.

He marches to oppose the Russians, who had entered Brandenburg - - - ibid.

Battle of Zorndorff [Aug. 25.] - - 274

The Russians, after a dreadful conflict, are defeated with great slaughter - - - 275

They retire to the frontiers of Poland, and the Prussian monarch hastens into Saxony, to the relief of his brother Henry; pressed on one side by the army of the Empire, and threatened on the other by the grand Austrian army, under Daun - - - ibid.

Battle of Hochkirchen [Oct. 14.] - - 276

8 Death

A. D. Page
Death of Marefchal Keith, and of Prince Francis of Brunfwick - - - - 276
The Pruffian right wing routed - - ibid.
Having in vain attempted to bring Marefchal Daun to a new engagement, the King of Pruffia marches to the relief of Silefia - - - 277
Obliges the Auftrian Generals, Harfche and de Ville, to fall back into Bohemia, and returns to the protection of Saxony - - - 278
Operations in that electorate during his abfence 279
Siege of Drefden by Marefchal Daun - ibid.
The Auftrian General relinquifhes his enterprife, and the King of Pruffia enters Drefden in triumph - ibid.
Equally diftinguifhed by valour and conduct, the illuftrious Frederic appears triumphant over all his enemies 280
The Britifh arms recover their luftre both by land and fea ib.
Admiral Ofborn takes two French fhips of the line ibid.
Sir Edward Hawke difperfes and drives on fhore a French fleet bound for North America - 281
A new expedition to the coaft of France planned ibid.
The Admirals Anfon and Hawke ride triumphant in the Channel; infult the French harbours, and deftroy the fhipping and naval ftores at St. Servan, a port adjoining to St. Malo - - - 282
Third expedition to the coaft of France - 283
Cherburg taken, and the fortifications demolifhed ibid.
Joy of the Englifh populace on that occafion ibid.
Farther proceedings of the troops on the coaft of France ibid.
A retreat is judged neceffary - - 284
Difafter at St. Cas - - 285
Sir John Armitage, and many other gentlemen, who had acted as volunteers, killed or drowned, with near a thoufand Britifh troops - - ibid.
Reflections on thofe expeditions to the coaft of France ibid.
Britifh affairs in North America - - 286
Siege of Louifburg by general Amherft - ibid.
State of the garrifon - - ibid.
Light Houfe Battery taken by general Wolfe - 287
Gallantry of the captains Balfour and Laforey ibid.
Louifburg furrenders; and the whole ifland of Cape Breton, and alfo that of St. John, fubmits to the arms of his Britanic Majefty - - - ibid.
Expedition of General Abercrombie againft Ticonderoga 288
Great ftrength of that place, both natural and artificial ib.
General Abercrombie is repulfed in attempting to carry it by affault, and obliged to retreat, with the lofs of two thoufand men - - - 289
Fort Frontenac taken by Colonel Bradftreet - ibid.

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page
Expedition of General Forbes againſt Fort du Queſne 289
A reconnoitring party, under Major Grant, defeated 290
The French garriſon abandons the threatened poſt, to which General Forbes gives the name of Fort Pitt ibid.
The French ſettlements on the river Senegal, and the iſland of Goree, on the coaſt of Africa, reduced by the Britiſh arms - - - - 291
The Count de Lally, Governor-general of the French poſſeſſions in the Eaſt-Indies, makes himſelf maſter of the Britiſh factories of Cudalore and Fort St. David, on the coaſt of Coromandel - - ibid.
View of the ſtate of the contending powers at the cloſe of the year 1758 - - - 292
1759 Great ſucceſs of the king of Pruſſia in the beginning of next campaign - - - 293
Fatal reverſe in his affairs - - ibid.
The French make themſelves maſters of Frankfort upon the Maine - - - - ibid.
Prince Ferdinand repulſed by the Duke de Broglio, in attempting to get poſſeſſion of the village of Bergen [April 10.] - - - 294
The French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine form a junction near Marpurg - - - ibid.
Prince Ferdinand judges it prudent to retire - ibid.
Rapid progreſs of the French - - ibid.
They make themſelves maſters of Munſter and Minden, and the electorate of Hanover ſeems in danger of being a ſecond time conquered - - - ibid.
Prince Ferdinand reſolves to give them battle 295
Takes meaſures for that purpoſe - - ibid.
Battle of Minden or Thornhauſen [Aug. 1.] - 296
The French defeated but not purſued - 297
Inquiry into the cauſe of that neglect - ibid.
Minden retaken - ibid.
Cenſure paſſed by Prince Ferdinand upon Lord George Sackville, who commanded the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe - - - - ibid.
The diſpute between them conſidered - ibid.

LETTER XXXIV.

The View of the State of Europe, and the Hiſtory of the general War purſued, from the Defeat of the French at Minden, to the Death of George II.

Prince Ferdinand enabled, by the victory at Minden, effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover 298
Obliged to weaken his army, in order to ſupport the King of Pruſſia - - - ibid.

The

A. D. Page

The Prussians under General Wedel, being defeated by the Russians in Silesia, the king resolves to oppose the enemy in person - - - 299
Mareschal Daun apprised of his intention, detaches General Laudohn with twelve thousand horse, to give vigour to the Russian army - - ibid.
Battle of Cunnersdorff [Aug. 12.] - ibid.
The Russians broken, but again form under cover of the Austrian cavalry, and take possession of an eminence called, *The Jews Burying Ground* - ibid.
Gallant but ineffectual efforts of the Prussians 300
The Austrian cavalry break the Prussian infantry, and night only prevents the whole Prussian army from being utterly cut off - - - ibid.
Horrid carnage on both sides - - 301
Singular circumstances attending the battle - ibid.
Masterly movements of the Prussian Monarch, after his defeat - - - - 302
He appears again formidable - - ibid.
Both the Russian and Austrian armies obliged to act on the defensive - - - ibid.
Great Progress of the Army of the Empire in Saxony ib.
The Prussians recover every place in that electorate except Dresden - - - ibid.
The King forces the Russians to retire into Poland, and joins his brother Henry in Saxony - 303
Having compelled Mareschal Daun to retreat, as far as Plawen, he forms the project of obliging the Austrian army under that commander to surrender at discretion, by cutting off his communication with Bohemia 304
The Prussian troops employed in this service surrounded, and made prisoners [Nov. 16.] - - ibid.
Mareschal Daun takes shelter in the strong camp of Pirna, and the King of Prussia puts his army into winter-quarters - - - - 305
Naval and military transactions in the West Indies ib.
Expedition from England against the island of Martinico ib.
The attack upon that island miscarries, and the armament proceeds to Guadaloupe - - 306
The troops are landed, and the town of Basse Terre taken ib.
The Marines and Highlanders carry Fort Lewis by assault 307
Misconduct of the invaders . - - ibid.
General Barrington changes the plan of operations, and the whole island submits to his Britannic Majesty ibid.
Extensive plan of operations formed by the British Generals in North America - - 308
Great strength of the French in Canada - 309
General Amherst makes himself master of the French forts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga - ibid.

But

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

But is not able to form, according to concert, a junction with General Wolfe - - 310

Death of General Prideaux - - ibid.

Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, defeats the French, and reduces the important fortress of Niagara - - - 311

Expedition against Quebec under the conduct of General Wolfe - - - 312

Having landed the troops in the isle of Orleans, he publishes a spirited manifesto - - ibid.

Finds himself surrounded by discouraging difficulties ib.

He takes possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, and erects batteries against the city of Quebec - - 313

These batteries, by reason of their distance, make little impression upon the fortifications - - ibid.

The French army, under the Marquis de Montcalm, strongly entrenched between the rivers Montmorency and St. Charles - - - ibid.

Wolfe resolves to attack the French camp, in hopes of being able to approach Quebec on that side - 314

He is repulsed with the loss of five hundred men [July 31.] - - - - ibid.

General Murray is sent with a detachment above the town 315

Burns a valuable magazine at Chambaud - ibid.

Returns with an account of the Progress of General Amherst - - - - ibid.

Uneasiness of General Wolfe at his own want of success 316

Having called a council of war, in which it was resolved, "That the future operations should be above the town," he abandons his camp at Montmorency [Sept. 3.] ib.

Good effects of this measure - - ibid.

The Marquis de Montcalm is induced to divide his forces 317

General Wolfe makes a descent, in the night, on the northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, a little above Quebec, and gains the heights of Abraham before morning ib.

Montcalm advances to the defence of that capital ibid.

Battle of Quebec [Sept. 13.] - - 318

Death of General Wolfe - - ibid.

Total defeat of the French army - - 320

The Marquis de Montcalm mortally wounded - 320

Particulars of the death of General Wolfe - ibid.

His character - - - ibid.

Character and anecdotes of the Marquis de Montcalm 321

The city of Quebec surrenders to the British fleet and army ibid.

Military operations in the East Indies - ibid.

Siege of Madrass by the French forces under Gen. Lally 32

He

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

He is obliged to abandon the enterprise - 322

Successful efforts of the British forces, under Col. Coote ib.

Battle of Vandivash - - ibid.

Gallant behaviour and death of Major Brereton - 323

The French defeated, after two bloody combats, in which Col. Coote and Major Monson greatly distinguish themselves ib.

Surat taken, and the Dutch humbled for an hostile attempt in Bengal - - - 324

Particular account of the conspiracy of the Dutch ibid.

All knowledge of it disowned by the States General 325

Naval transactions in Europe - - ib.

The French threaten Great Britain and Ireland with invasion - - - - ibid.

Three armaments fitted out seemingly for that purpose ib.

The French ports in the Channel blocked up by Rear-Admiral Rodney and Sir Edward Hawke - ibid.

Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, blocks up, for a time, the harbour of Toulon - - - 326

Sea-fight off Cape Lagos - - ibid.

The Toulon fleet defeated by Admiral Boscawen, with the loss of four ships of the line, two taken, and two destroyed - - - - ibid.

Great preparations at Brest and at Rochfort for an invasion of England - - - ibid.

Sea-fight between Belleisle and Cape Quiberon - 327

Admiral Hawke defeats the grand French fleet, commanded by M. de Conflans, and destroys great part of it, but loses two ships upon a sand-bank - - 328

Account of the famous adventurer, Thurot - ibid.

1760 After a variety of fortunes, with a squadron of five ships, he is overtaken by Captain Elliot, near the Isle of Man, and killed in the middle of a hot engagement [Feb. 28.] 329

His whole squadron is taken - - ibid.

The people of Great Britain, in consequence of their naval victories, and their success in North America and the East and West Indies, become sensible of the folly of continuing the German war - - ibid.

But the King and the ministry persist in the prosecution of it, and the parliament votes enormous sums for that purpose - - - - 330

The French nobility and gentry, no less zealous in the support of government - - ibid.

French army in Westphalia, under Mareschal Broglio, augmented to one hundred thousand men - ibid.

The allied army under Prince Ferdinand, less numerous, but the troops in better condition - 331

A detachment under the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, defeated near Corbach - - ibid.

A French detachment surprised near Ermsdorff, and M. de Glaubitz

A. D. Page
Glaubitz, the commander, with one hundred and twenty-seven officers, and two thousand two hundred men, made prisoners, by the Hereditary Prince - 331
Battle of Warburg [July 31.] - 332
The French obliged to retreat, with the loss of three thousand men - - - ibid.
This victory enables Prince Ferdinand to prevent Broglio from penetrating into the electorate of Hanover, but not to protect the landgraviate of Hesse - ibid.
Operations of the King of Prussia - 333
He takes possession of a strong camp, between the Elbe and the Mulda, and resolves to pursue a defensive plan ib.
That plan disconcerted by the activity and enterprising genius of General Laudohn, who threatens alternately Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg - 334
Defeats Fouquet, the Prussian General, [June 23.] and reduces Glatz - - - 335
Roused by these misfortunes, the King of Prussia makes a feint of marching into Silesia, but suddenly returns, and lays siege to Dresden - - ibid.
Mareschal Daun obliges him to relinquish his enterprise, [July 21.] yet artfully declines an engagement 336
General Laudohn invests Breslaw, [July 30.] - ibid.
Prince Henry comes to the relief of the place, and the Austrians raise the siege, [Aug. 5.] - 337
Memorable march of the Prussian monarch, in order to prevent the junction of the Russians and Austrians in Silesia ib.
Encompassed by three hostile armies in his camp at Lignitz, he defeats General Laudohn - - 338
So intimidates the Russians that they repass the Oder, and obliges Mareschal Daun to raise the blockade of Schweidnitz, and take refuge in the mountains of Landshut 339
The Russians and Austrians, having formed a junction, enter Brandenburg, and make themselves masters of Berlin 340
The King of Prussia's affairs again seem desperate 341
He resolves to retrieve them by some great effort ibid.
Passes the Elbe with that view, and rushes into Saxony ib.
Mareschal Daun follows him with an army of eighty thousand men - - - ibid
Battle of Torgaw, [Nov. 23.] - - 342
Mareschal Daun wounded, and carried off the field ib.
The Austrians are routed, and chased over the Elbe ib.
Importance of this victory - - ibid.
The King of Prussia recovers all Saxony, except Dresden ib.
The Austrians evacuate Silesia; the Russians abandon the siege of Colberg, in Eastern Pomerania, and retire into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, again take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund - - - ibid.
Military operations in North America - 344

A. D. Page

M. de Levi, commander in chief of the French forces in Canada, attempts to recover Quebec - 344
General Murray, the Governor, in order to avoid the hardships of a siege, marches out to meet the enemy 345
He is defeated near Sillery - - ibid.
Siege of Quebec - - - ibid.
The arrival of an English fleet, under Lord Colvil, obliges M. de Levi to abandon the enterprise, and retire to Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, had fixed his head quarters, and collected around him the militia of the colony - - 346
Progress of General Amherst - - ibid.
He arrives at Montreal, and is there joined by General Murray and Colonel Haviland, with two separate bodies of troops - - - ibid.
Convinced that resistance would be ineffectual, Vaudreuil demands terms of capitulation - 347
They are granted him, and Montreal, with every other place within the government of Canada, is surrendered to his Britannic majesty - - ibid.
Ravages of the Indians in the back settlements of Virginia and South Carolina - - - ibid.
They are repressed by the Colonels Montgomery and Grant ibid.
The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Mississippi, alone remain to France of all the settlements in North America - - 348
Success of the British arms in the East Indies - ibid.
Colonel Coot invests Pondicherry - ibid.
Extravagant conduct, but gallant defence of Count Lally, the governor - - - 349
The place is surrendered to Colonel Coot, and the garrison made prisoners of war [Jan. 15, 1761.] - ibid.
Great power of the English, and utter subversion of that of France, in Indostan - - ibid.
These conquests open the most extensive views to the subjects of Great Britain, and make them dissatisfied that so great a portion of the national wealth and force should be employed in the prosecution of the war in Germany 350
Death and character of Geo. II. - - ibid.
Accession of George III. - - 351

LETTER XXXV.

State of Europe, and the Progress of the War, in all Quarters of the Globe, carried forward from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

George III. the most powerful monarch in Europe 351

A. D. Page
He resolves to continue the continental war, and issues a declaration to that purport - - 352
1761 The liberal supplies voted by the British parliament, for the support of the German confederacy, convince the courts of Vienna and Versailles of the necessity of proposing terms of peace - - - ibid.
State of the contending powers - - ibid.
Congress appointed to meet at Augsburg - ibid.
Negociation between France and England opened by Monsf. Bussy at London, and at Paris by Mr. Stanley 353
Professions of the ministers of the two crowns - ibid.
The court of Versailles attempts to involve the interests of France with those of Spain - - ibid.
Retrospective view of the state of the court of Madrid 354
Death of Ferdinand VI. and accession of Charles III. [A. D. 1759.] - ibid.
His Catholic Majesty becomes jealous of the progress of the British arms in America - - ibid.
That jealousy induces him to seek refuge ultimately in the famous FAMILY COMPACT, so long and eagerly solicited by France - - - ibid.
Progress of the negociation between the courts of London and Versailles - - 355
It is interrupted - - 356
Military operations in Germany - - ibid.
Prince Ferdinand gains some advantages over the French in Westphalia, in the early part of the campaign, but is afterward obliged to abandon his conquests, and retire behind the Dymel - - ibid.
He is attacked by the united forces of Broglio and Soubise, at the village of Kirch Denkern, and obliges them to retire with the loss of five thousand men - ibid.
In consequence of this victory, he is enabled to protect the electorate of Hanover - - ibid.
The king of Prussia acts solely on the defensive, yet the Austrians make themselves masters of Schweidnitz, and the Russians of Colberg - - 357
Expedition against Belleisle, on the coast of France ibid.
It is reduced by the bravery of the British troops, after the citadel of St. Palais had been invested six weeks, [June 7.] - - - 358
This conquest, in the opinion of the more intelligent part of the nation, dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men - - ibid.
The negociation with France resumed - ibid.
Offer of cessions and exchanges made by the court of Versailles - - - 359
Disputed points - - ibid.
The negociation finally broken off - 360

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Its failure partly occasioned by the interference of the court of Madrid - - - 360
Private Spanish memorial presented by the French minister, along with his public memorial of propositions ibid.
Indignation of the British minister, who expressed his astonishment at seeing a proposal for accommodating differences between friends coming through the medium of an enemy - - - 361
The court of Versailles condescends to make an apology, but the Spanish ambassador justifies the liberty taken by the French minister, as conformable to the sentiments of his master - - - ibid.
It appears that Spain had been made acquainted with every step in the negociation between France and England 362
Family Compact signed - - ibid.
The Earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, ordered to remonstrate on the daring interposition of Spain in the negociation between France and England ibid.
Mr. Wall, the Spanish minister, refuses to give up any of the points in dispute, and indirectly owns the alliance between the courts of Versailles and Madrid ibid.
Mr. Pitt, the British minister, proposes an immediate declaration of war against Spain - - ibid.
His advice opposed by a majority of the privy council ibid.
Their arguments - - 363
They had no weight with Mr. Pitt - 364
His animated speech on the occasion - ibid.
Cool reply of Earl Granville - - 365
Mr. Pitt resigns - - ibid.
Account of the rise of the Earl of Bute - ibid.
Circumstances attending the resignation of Mr. Pitt 366
Alarm occasioned by that event - - ibid.
Attempts made to destroy the reputation of Mr. Pitt, both as a statesman and patriot - - 367
Vindication, by his friends - - ibid.
Those disputes engage the attention of all Europe 368
The French ministry industriously circulate intelligence of a *secret treaty* between the courts of Versailles and Madrid ibid.
The new ministers of George III. demand an account of the nature of that treaty - - 369
The Spanish ministry avow the *Family Compact* ibid.
Ambassadors of the two courts recalled - ibid.
Fundamental articles of the FAMILY COMPACT 370
1762 Mutual declarations of war issued by the courts of London and Madrid - - - 372
An attack meditated by Spain upon the kingdom of Portugal - - - ibid.

Retro-

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Retrospective view of the state of that kingdom 372
Conspiracy against the life of his most Faithful Majesty 373
It is defeated, [Sept. 1758.] and the principal conspirators are punished, [A.D 1759.] - - 374
Discontents occasioned by the expulsion of the Jesuits, who were deeply concerned in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal - - ibid.
The ministers of France and Spain present to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial, in order to persuade his most Faithful Majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain - - ibid.
Critical situation, and firmness of the king of Portugal 375
His animated answer to the memorial of the house of Bourbon - - - 376
French and Spanish ambassadors leave Lisbon, and war is declared against Portugal by the kings of France and Spain - - - 377
The Spaniards invade that kingdom, but are driven out by the valour of a body of British troops, commanded by General Burgoyne - - ibid.
Operations in Westphalia - - ibid.
Prince Ferdinand takes effectual measures for preventing the French from entering Hanover - 378
And is victorious in the actions of Graebenstein, Homburg, and Melsungen, where the British troops, under the Marquis of Granby, acquire signal honour - ibid.
Fortunate change in the King of Prussia's affairs, occasioned by a great and singular revolution in the policy of Russia 379
The Empress Elizabeth is succeeded in the Russian throne by the Duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. ibid.
He begins his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles, his interior government - ibid.
The same mild spirit extends itself to his foreign politics ibid.
He publishes a memorial in favour of peace; and on receiving an unsatisfactory answer from the court of Vienna, orders a cessation of arms, and afterward forms an alliance with the King of Prussia - ibid.
Sweden follows the example of Russia, in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin - - 380
The King of Prussia does not fail to profit by this happy alteration of circumstances - - ibid.
Suddenly threatened with a reverse of fortune, in consequence of a new revolution in Russia - 381
Particulars of that revolution - - ibid.
Deposition and Death of Peter III. - 382
Prudent policy of the Empress, Catharine II. - 383

C O N T E N T S.

A. D. Page

She adheres to the peace with the King of Pruſſia, but withdraws her troops - - 383

He recovers Schweidnitz, (though defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men) in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obſtruct his operations [July 22.] 384

Concludes with the court of Vienna a ceſſation of hoſtilities for Saxony and Sileſia - - ibid.

This partial truce induces moſt princes of the empire to ſign a treaty of neutrality, in order to ſave their dominions from the ravages of the Pruſſians - 385

The war therefore left to be finiſhed, as it had been begun, by the arms of Pruſſia and Auſtria - ibid.

Naval and military tranſactions in the Weſt Indies 386

Britiſh armament deſtined againſt Martinico - ibid.

Fort Royal is reduced, and the whole iſland capitulates ib.

Great armament prepared againſt the Havanna, the chief ſeaport in the iſland of Cuba, and the key of the Gulf of Mexico - - - ibid.

Deſcription of that place - - 387

The troops landed, and the ſiege of the Moro fort formed, by the Earl of Albemarle - - 388

Hardſhips ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſoldiers and ſailors ib.

The principal battery of the beſiegers takes fire 389

They redouble their efforts, in order to repair the damage, and make a lodgment before the right baſtion ibid.

The Moro ſtormed, and carried by aſſault, [July 30.] ib.

Deſperate valour of Don Lewis de Velaſco, the Spaniſh governor - - - 390

The city ſummoned [Aug. 10.] - - ibid.

Surrenders next morning, together with the Puntal caſtle, and a diſtrict of one hundred and eighty miles, included within the government of the Havanna - - ibid.

Vaſt booty acquired by the victors - ibid.

Importance of this conqueſt - - 391

Expedition from Madraſs to the Philippine iſlands, under the conduct of Admiral Corniſh and General Draper ib.

Siege of Manilla - - - 392

Difficulties with which it was attended - ibid.

The place taken by ſtorm, and the whole range of the Philippines ſubmits to his Britannic Majeſty - 393

Preliminaries of a treaty of peace ſigned at Fontainbleau, before intelligence of this conqueſt reaches England 394

Cauſe of that haſty meaſure traced - - ibid.

Retroſpective view of the ſtate of parties in England ib.

Liberal policy of Mr. Pitt - - 395

Unpopular adminiſtration of the Earl of Bute - 396

He finds it neceſſary to reſign, or to put an end to the war ibid.

Chuſes the latter alternative - - ibid.

His

A. D. Page
His overtures to that purpoſe highly acceptable to the courts of Verſailles and Madrid - - 397
Stipulations in the Preliminary Treaty of Peace ibid.
Approved by the Britiſh Parliament - 398
1763 And the *Definitive Treaty* ſigned at *Paris* [Feb. 16.] ibid.
The war in Germany terminated by the TREATY OF HUBERTSBURG - - ibid.
Purport of that treaty - - ibid.
People of England diſſatisfied with the TREATY OF PARIS 399
Arguments for and againſt it conſidered - ibid.
The Havanna ought not to have been reſtored - 401
Terms on which an equitable treaty might have been concluded - - - ibid.
By ſuch terms Great Britain would have eſtabliſhed for ever her ſuperiority over the Houſe of Bourbon, and have ſecured the dominion of the ſea - - 402
The INFLUENCE of *Tory counſels* the cauſe why ſo glorious an opportunity was loſt - - ibid.

LETTER XXXVI.

Progreſs of Society in Europe during the preſent Century.

General view of the improvements in the ſocial ſyſtem made during the Eighteenth Century - 403
Theſe improvements have at once diminiſhed the miſeries, and multiplied the enjoyments of human life ibid.
State of ſociety in Ruſſia - - 404
——— in Denmark and Sweden - 405
——— in Germany - - ibid.
——— in Switzerland and Holland - 406
——— in Italy - - 407
——— in Spain and Portugal - 408
——— in France - - 409
The French not inattentive to their civil and religious rights ibid.
Diſputes between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits - 410
Bull *Unigenitus*, declaring the condemnation of the opinions of the Janſeniſts, throws all France into a flame [A. D. 1713.] - - ibid.
It is oppoſed by the Parliament of Paris, by many of the Clergy, and by the body of the People - ibid.
Lewis XV. prohibits the interpoſition of the Parliament [A. D. 1750.] - - 411
Account of the nature of the French Parliaments ibid.
The Parliament of Paris remonſtrates againſt the reſtraint impoſed by the King - - 412
He baniſhes to different parts of the kingdom the Members of

A. D. Page
of all the Chambers, except those of the Great Chamber, [A. D. 1753.] - - 412
The Members of that Chamber also are banished, and many disorders ensue - - - ibid.
The Parliament recalled, and enters Paris in triumph [A. D. 1754.] - - - 413
But the dispute in regard to the Bull Unigenitus continues ibid.
The King refers that dispute to the Pope - 414
His Holiness declares in a brief to all the bishops of France, that the Bull must be acknowledged as an universal law ib.
The Parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppress it by an arret - - - ibid.
Lewis XV. enraged at such boldness, goes to the Parliament, attended by the whole body of his guards, and suppresses the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inquests [A. D. 1756.] - - - ibid.
Fifteen counsellors of the Great Chamber, and one hundred and twenty-four members of the other courts of Parliament, resign - - - ibid.
The King (after being stabbed by Damien) accommodates matters with the Parliament, and banishes the Archbishop of Paris, who had been active in fomenting the contentious dispute - - - ibid.
Account of the expulsion of the Jesuits - 415
Having rendered themselves odious to the people and the Parliaments, as the chief supporters of the Bull Unigenitus, they are rigorously prosecuted for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions [A. D. 1761.] - ibid.
New suits are commenced against them on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings [A. D. 1762.] ib.
All their colleges are seized, all their effects confiscated, and they are finally expelled the kingdom of France ib.
Elated with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliaments attempt to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown - - ibid.
Progress of arts and literature in France - 416
Du Hamel, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, makes it a fashionable study - ibid.
Character of Montesquieu - - ibid.
——— of Helvetius - - 417
——— of Buffon - - ibid.
——— of Voltaire - - 418
French literature much indebted to Rousseau, d'Alembert, and Diderot - - - ibid.
Character of Marmontel, and of the two Crebillons 419
Progress of arts, manners, and literature in Great Britain ib.

The

C O N T E N T S.

A. D. Page
The Revolution, in 1688, has a ferious influence upon the manners and ftudies of the Englifh nation - 419
Rapid advance of tafte and politenefs during the reign of Queen Anne - - - 420
The moral and critical papers in the SPECTATOR contribute greatly to fuch refinement - - 421
Licentioufnefs of former writers - - ibid.
The FABLES of Dryden not free from that licentioufnefs ib.
Extract from his celebrated Tale of *Sigifmunda* and *Guifcardo* ibid.
The fentiments cenfured - - ibid.
Delicacy of fentiment exemplified in an extract from Prior's *Henry* and *Emma* - - 422
General character of Prior as a poet - - 423
Character of Steel - - - ibid.
——— of Rowe - - - ibid.
——— of Addifon's Cato - - 424
——— of Addifon, Swift, Bolingbroke, Chefterfield, and Johnfon, as profe writers - - ibid.
Early bent of Mr. Pope's genius - - 425
He ftudies the verfification of Waller, Denham, and Dryden - - - - ibid.
Extract from Denham's *Cooper's Hill* - 426
Excellencies of Dryden and Pope compared - ibid.
Character of Pope's verfification - - ibid.
Examples of it - - - - - 427
Such of his poetical fucceffors as have attempted to give more freedom and variety to Englifh heroic verfe in rhyme, have generally either *broken* its *ftructure* or *impaired* its *vigour* - - - 428
Examples of thofe faults - - - ibid.
Character of Thomfon - - - 429
——— of Akenfide and Armftrong, as didactic poets ib.
Extract from Armftrong's *Art of preferving Health* ibid.
Character of Akenfide, Collins, and Gray, as lyric poets 430
Extracts from Akenfide's Odes - - ibid.
——— from Collins's *Ode to Liberty* - 432
Character of Hammond - - 433
Extract from his *Love Elegies* - - - ibid.
Character of Shenftone - - 434
Extract from his *Paftoral Ballad* - ibid.
General character of the Romances of Fielding, Smollett, and Richardfon - - - ibid.
Publication of the Hiftories of Robertfon and Hume 435
Retrofpective view of the ftate of manners in England during the reign of George I. - - 436
And of George II. - - - ibid.
Great national profperity - - - 437
Splendour of public amufements - - ibid.

Dramatic

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Dramatic performances of Cibber, Thomson, Southern, Young - - - 437

State of theatrical representation, when Garrick made his first appearance upon the stage - 438

He introduces a new and more natural mode of playing ibid.

The same just taste extends itself to dramatic writing 439

Tragedies of *Zara*, *Merope*, *Elfrida*, the *Gamester*, *Douglas* ibid.

Comedies of the *Suspicious Husband*, *Jealous Wife*, *Clandestine Marriage*, *False Delicacy*, and the *West Indian* ib.

Theatrical decorations—architecture, scenery, characteristic dresses - - - - 440

Mute drama—machinery, dancing, music - ibid.

Musical drama - - - ibid.

Extraordinary success of the *Beggar's Opera*, and its cause ibid.

Immoral tendency of that piece - - ibid.

Origin of the *Oratorio* - - 442

Great musical talents of Handel - ibid.

Success of the *serious* Opera of *Artaxerxes*, set to music by Dr. Arne - - - - - ibid.

The Comic Opera, when impregnated with sentiment, more generally acceptable to an English audience than the serious - - - 442

Favourable reception of *Love in a Village*, &c. ibid.

The Opera house and public concerts, call forth all the powers of composers, both native and foreign, and afford great scope for musical execution - 443

Progress of the other elegant arts during the period under review - - - ibid.

Low state of painting and sculpture in England at the close of the last century - - ibid.

Eminent statuaries and architects, in the present century ibid.

Character of Hogarth, the first great English painter 444

Present state of painting in England - 445

Masters—Reynolds, West, &c. - ibid.

Vast perfections attained in the art of engraving 446

Art of *Modern Gardening* invented by Kent - ibid.

Its leading principles - - - ibid.

Milton not unacquainted with them - 447

It contributes to the advancement of agriculture as well as to rural elegance - - 448

Progress of the sciences in England during the present century - - - ibid.

Mathematics and natural philosophy advanced by Halley, Gregory, Maclaurin, Tull, Franklin - ibid.

Meta-

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

Metaphyfics and moral philofophy, by Hume, Hartley, Reid - - - 448

Account of Hume's fyftem of the *Affociation* of *Ideas*, and his theory of the Paffions, or the *Communication* of *Emotions* - - - - 449

Example of his manner of illuftrating his metaphyfical fyftem - - - ibid.

His mode of reafoning excellent, but his principles dangerous - - - 450

Concife view of the ftate of Chriftianity in Great Britain during the prefent century - - ibid.

Bold inveftigation of the fublime myfteries of Chriftianity, the immediate confequence of the general toleration that followed the *Revolution* - - ibid.

Succeeded by moderation among all the old fectaries 451

New fects fpring up both in England and Scotland ibid.

Whitfield, Wefley, and the Erfkines, rekindle, in all its force, the flame of enthufiafm - - ibid.

Infidelity keeps pace with it - - ibid.

Both now on the decline - - 452

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HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER XXVI.

General View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *from the Death of* LEWIS XIV. *in* 1715 *to the Death of the Emperor*, CHARLES VI. *in* 1740.

THE period on which we are now entering is happily diſtinguiſhed by few great events, for great events are generally connected with great calamities. The war, that had ſo long ravaged the fineſt part of Europe, had ceaſed at the peace of Utrecht, and diſcord ſeemed to have left the earth with the reſtleſs ſpirit of Lewis XIV. but a certain degree of agitation remained, like the rolling of the waves after a ſtorm. A. D. 1715.

The progreſs of the rebellion in Great Britain, againſt the authority of George I. and with a view of reſtoring the fa-

mily of Stuart, I have already had occaſion to trace. The ſpeedy and fortunate ſuppreſſion of that rebellion, as muſt ever be the caſe in all free governments, increaſed the influence of the crown. The Whig-miniſtry, no longer under any apprehenſions from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing utterly to cruſh their political enemies, without foreſeeing the ſtab they were giving to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the Triennial-Act (lately thought eſſential, by their own party, to the freedom of the Engliſh conſtitution), and for *extending* the *duration* of *parliaments* to the term of SEVEN YEARS. This bill, though warmly oppoſed by the Tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular ſide of all queſtions), and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houſes, was carried by a great majority: and the king, by the uniform ſupport of the Whigs, who in their love of power forgot their republican maxims, found himſelf firmly ſeated on the Britiſh throne.

A. D. 1716.

The authority of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, during the minority of Lewis XV. was yet leſs perfectly eſtabliſhed. He had a powerful faction to ſtruggle with; and therefore judged it prudent to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances. But it will be proper, my dear Philip, before I enter into the particulars of thoſe alliances, to turn your eye, for a moment, toward another quarter of Europe.

The Turks, who are far from being profound politicians, happily remained quiet while the Chriſtian princes were moſt deeply embroiled among themſelves; but no ſooner was the general peace concluded, than Achmet III. commenced hoſtilities againſt the Venetians, and made himſelf maſter of the Morea, or ancient Peloponneſus. The emperor Charles VI. as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which this territory had been aſſigned to the republic of Venice, was bound, in honour, to declare war againſt the Turks for infringing it:—and the pope, alarmed at the progreſs of the Infidels, urged his Imperial Majeſty to ſtand

forth in defence of Chriſtendom. Charles accordingly aſſembled a powerful army, under the celebrated prince Eugene; who paſſed the Danube, and defeated the grand vizier Ali at Peterwaradin. The year following, the ſame general undertook the ſiege of Belgrade. A. D. 1717. The Turks advanced to its relief, and beſieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent: but military ſkill and diſciplined valour triumphed over numbers and ſavage ferocity. He ſallied out of his entrenchments; and, falling ſuddenly upon the enemy, routed them with great ſlaughter, and took their cannon, baggage, and every thing belonging to their camp. Belgrade ſurrendered immediately after.

The conſequence of theſe two victories was the peace of Paſſarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and all the bannat of Temeſwaer. A. D. 1718. But the Venetians, on whoſe account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their poſſeſſions in Greece: the Morea was left, and ſtill remains, in the hands of the Turks.

What time the arms of the emperor were employed againſt the Infidels, a new enemy was riſing up againſt him in Chriſtendom, and even from the boſom of the Catholic church. Philip V. of Spain, having loſt his firſt queen, Maria Louiſa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farneſe, preſumptive heireſs to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, with all the territories belonging to them. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, an Italian prieſt, and a native of Placentia, who ſoon roſe to the higheſt favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. The princeſs Urſini, who had long directed all things in Spain, and who, it is ſaid, might have ſhared the throne, had ſhe not hoped to govern more abſolutely, and leſs invidiouſly, by means of another, was now ordered to quit the kingdom. The new queen, who was a woman of ſpirit, governed alone her too

easy husband, and Alberoni governed the queen, by flattering her ambition [1].

The bold, rather than correct, or illuminated genius of that minister, made him form the most extraordinary projects. The principal as well as most rational of these, though in itself sufficiently romantic, was to recover all the territories that Spain had ceded at the peace of Utrecht, but more especially her Italian dominions. This idea seems to have occupied the mind of Alberoni when he negociated the marriage of Philip V. with the princess of Parma, whose interest in Italy was great, and for whose offspring those speculative conquests were designed, as all hopes of their succeeding to the Spanish monarchy were cut off by the children of the first bed. In order to enable him to execute that ambitious project, which was highly flattering to the queen, he laboured indefatigably, and with no small degree of success, to put the Spanish finances on a respectable footing, while he new-modelled and greatly augmented both the army and navy.

Alberoni, however, did not rely merely on the resources of Spain for the execution of so great an undertaking. He extended his negociations and intrigues to every court in Europe. He endeavoured to engage the Turks, notwithstanding their losses, to continue the war against the emperor, whom he meant to strip of his Italian conquests. He persuaded Philip V. that his renunciation was invalid, and that he had still a better right than the duke of Orleans, not only to the crown of France, in case of the death of Lewis XV. without male issue, but also to the regency during the minority of that prince. In hopes of bringing about this important revolution, and becoming prime minister of both France and Spain, he accordingly inflamed the French malcontents. He also encouraged the Scottish Jacobites, with whom he

1. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii.

held

held a ſecret correſpondence; and he had formed a ſcheme, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, the baron de Goertz, and Charles XII. of Sweden, who thirſted after revenge on the houſe of Hanover, of acquiring a new and powerful ally to his maſter, by placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. But all theſe dazzling projects ſoon vaniſhed into air, and this meteor of a moment diſappeared with them.

We have already ſeen in what manner the intrigues of the baron de Goertz were defeated, by the ſeizure of the papers of Gyllemburg, the Swediſh ambaſſador at the court of England, and the ſubſequent death of Charles XII. Thoſe of Alberoni were defeated, in like manner, by the ſeizure of the papers of prince Cellamar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of France. The project of prince Cellamar and his confederates was, to land a body of Spaniſh troops in Brittany, in order to favour the aſſembling the malcontents of Poitou; to ſeize the perſon of the duke of Orleans, and oblige him to reſign the regency to Philip V. On the diſcovery of this plot, cardinal Polignac, one of the principal conſpirators, was confined to his abbey; the duke and ducheſs of Maine were taken into cuſtody; the prince de Dombes and the count d'Eu were ordered to retire from court; the Spaniſh ambaſſador was conducted to the frontiers; five gentlemen of Brittany were executed, and the duke of Orleans found his authority thenceforth more firmly eſtabliſhed [2].

The formerly precarious ſtate of that authority, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France, in 1716, to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which ſeemed to know no bounds, now diſpoſed thoſe three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, as a dyke againſt its fury. After the articles which provided for the maintaining of the

2. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Mem. de Brandenbourg*, tom. ii.

peace of Utrecht, the principal ſtipulations in that treaty were, That the duke of Savoy, in conſideration of certain places in Italy, ſhould exchange with the emperor the iſland of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he ſhould take the regal title; and that the emperor ſhould confer on Don Carlos, eldeſt ſon of the young queen of Spain, the inveſtiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, on the death of the preſent poſſeſſors without iſſue.

This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article that regarded the eventual ſucceſſion of Don Carlos was rejected with ſcorn by the Spaniſh court which had already taken poſſeſſion of Sardinia, under pretence of aſſiſting the Venetians againſt the Turks, and of great part of the iſland of Sicily. The conſequence of this obſtinacy, and of theſe unprovoked hoſtilities, was a declaration of war againſt Spain, by France and England.

But, before that meaſure was embraced, every method had been tried, though ineffectually, to adjuſt matters by negociation: Alberoni ſought only to gain time, by amuſing the miniſters of the two crowns. He did not, however, ſucceed in his ſcheme. George I. even while he negociated, ſent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under ſir George Byng, who, being veſted with very ample powers, and finding every propoſal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a ceſſation of arms treated with diſdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate inſtructions. He accordingly engaged the Spaniſh fleet near the coaſt of Sicily, and took or deſtroyed
Aug. 11. twenty-one ſhips out of twenty-ſeven, fourteen of which were of the line: yet could he not prevent the Spaniſh troops, commanded by the marquis de Leda, from making themſelves maſters of the citadel of Meſſina, the town having ſurrendered before his arrival. But, by his activity in tranſporting German troops into Sicily, both the
A. D. 1719. town and citadel were ſoon recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the iſland. The recovery of Sicily was followed by the ſurrender of Sardinia.

In

In the mean time the duke of Berwick conducted a French army toward the frontiers of Spain, and made himſelf maſter of St. Sebaſtian and Fontarabia; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spaniſh army in Great Britain; and the duke of Berwick, having made preparations for opening the next campaign with the ſiege of Roſes and Pampeluna, Philip V. acceded to the terms preſcribed by the Quadruple Alliance, and Alberoni was diſgraced [3]. A. D. 1720.

While this Italian prieſt, the ſon of a peaſant, and formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, was ambitiouſly attempting to change the political ſtate of Europe, a great and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottiſh adventurer, named John Law. Profeſſionally a gameſter, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to abandon his native country, for having killed his antagoniſt in a duel. He viſited ſeveral parts of the continent: and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly ſtruck with the confuſion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil, appeared a taſk worthy of his daring genius:—and he flattered himſelf that he could accompliſh it. The greatneſs of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whoſe bold ſpirit and ſanguine temper induced him to adopt the wildeſt projects.

Law's ſcheme was, by ſpeedily paying off the immenſe national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous intereſt that abſorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution, and the exigencies of the ſtate ſeemed to require ſuch an expedient. Law accordingly eſtabliſhed a bank, which was ſoon declared royal, and united with the Miſſiſippi or Weſt India company, from whoſe commerce the greateſt riches were expected,

3. Id. Ibid.

and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also obtained the privileges of the old East India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Missisippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Missisippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but supposed fabulous mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure; with a body of troops sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company: the *Missisippi Scheme* became the grand object, and the ultimate aim of all pursuits[4]. Even Law himself, deceived

4. The adventurers were not satisfied with a bare association with the company, which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. The proprietors were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations; which, it was represented, would yield, in a few years, an hundred times the sum necessary to be laid out upon them. The richest and most intelligent men in the nation were the most forward in making these purchases; and such

ceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated ſo many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded fourſcore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almoſt all in the hands of government.

This profuſion of paper, in which only the debts of the ſtate were paid off, firſt occaſioned ſuſpicion, and afterwards ſpread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhauſted the Royal Bank, by continually drawing upon it for large ſums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into caſh; but the diſproportion of ſpecie was immenſe. Public credit ſunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private perſons to keep by them above five hundred livres, ſerved only to cruſh it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and inſulted nation againſt the Regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with reſpect, was now execrated and obliged to fly from a country he had beggared, without enriching himſelf, in order to diſcharge the debts of the crown[5]. The diſtreſs of the kingdom was ſo great, and the public creditors ſo numerous, that government was under the neceſſity of affording them relief. Upward of five hundred thouſand ſufferers, chiefly fathers of families, preſented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating theſe debts, which are ſaid to have originally amounted to a ſum too incredible to be named, charged itſelf with the enormous debt of ſixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in ſpecie[6].

ſuch as could not afford to become purchaſers, ſolicited the management of plantations, or even to be employed in cultivating them!—During this general infatuation, all perſons who offered themſelves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiſcuouſly and careleſsly crowded into ſhips, and landed on the burning ſands of the Biloxi, a diſtrict in Weſt Florida, between Penſacola and the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, where a French ſettlement had been inconſiderately formed, and where theſe unhappy men periſhed in thouſands, of want and vexation; the miſerable victims of a political impoſture, and of their own blind avidity. Raynal, *Hiſt. Philoſ. et Politique*, liv. xvi.

5. Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors.

6. Voltaire.

Thus

Thus ended, in France, the famous MISSISIPPI SCHEME; so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury. The SOUTH SEA SCHEME, evidently borrowed from that of Law, first excited the avidity of the nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the *Stocks*, and the rise of the *South Sea Company*.

Nothing, my dear Philip, is so much talked of in London, or so little understood, as the NATIONAL DEBT, the PUBLIC FUNDS, and the STOCKS: I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a general idea of them. The *National Debt* is the residue of those immense sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The *Public Funds* consist of certain ideal aggregations, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the SINKING FUND, as it was originally intended to be applied toward the reduction, or *sinking* of the national debt. The *Stocks* are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which

rise

rise or fall in value according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the stocks; which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity. For as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, the Stocks are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless when attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid, without any farther reduction, must raise the Stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the prodigious successes of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the Assiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V. as well as the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was vested exclusively in the SOUTH SEA COMPANY. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements: and the company was farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South Sea, vessels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as

it pleaſed; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its ſales in gold or ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export [7].

Nor was this all. The agents of the Britiſh South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh colonies, without limitation or reſerve. Inſtead of a veſſel of five hundred tons burden, as ſtipulated by the treaty, they uſually employed one of a thouſand tons, excluſive of water and proviſions: ſhe was accompanied by three or four ſmaller veſſels, which ſupplied her wants, and mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, furniſhed her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods, in order to replace ſuch as had been previouſly ſold [8].

By theſe various advantages, the profits of the South Sea Company became exceſſively great, and the public ſuppoſed them yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by ſuch favourable circumſtances, and by the general ſpirit of avaricious enterprize, ſir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a ſcrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous SOUTH SEA SCHEME. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the intereſt, and reducing all the funds into one, he propoſed that the South Sea Company ſhould become the ſole public creditor.

A ſcheme ſo plauſible, and ſo advantageous to the ſtate, was readily adopted by the miniſtry, and ſoon received the ſanction of an act of parliament. The purport of this act was, That the South Sea Company ſhould be authoriſed to buy up, from the ſeveral proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an intereſt of five *per cent.* and that, after the expiration of ſix years, the intereſt ſhould be reduced to four *per cent.* and the capital be redeemable by

7. Anderſon's *Hiſt. of Commerce*, vol ii.

8. Id. ib. See alſo Robertſon's *Hiſt. of America*, book viii.

parliament.

parliament[9]. But as the directors could not be ſuppoſed poſſeſſed of money ſufficient for ſo great an undertaking, they were empowered to raiſe it by different means; and particularly by opening books of ſubſcription, and granting annuities to ſuch public creditors as ſhould think proper to *exchange* the *ſecurity* of the *crown* for that of the *South Sea Company*, with the *emoluments* which might reſult from their *commerce*[10].

While this affair was in agitation, the ſtock of the South Sea company roſe from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to near four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the firſt ſubſcribers; and in order to raiſe it ſtill higher, Blount, the projector of the ſcheme, circulated a report, on the paſſing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged for ſome places in Peru, by the ceſſion of which the British trade to the South Sea would be much enlarged. In conſequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the ſubſcription-books were no ſooner opened than perſons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and ſexes, crowded to the South Sea houſe, eager to become proprietors of the ſtock. The firſt purchaſes were, in a few weeks, ſold for double the money paid for them; and the deluſion, or rather the infatuation, was carried ſo far, that ſtock ſold, at laſt, for ten times its original price. New projectors ſtarted up every day, to avail themſelves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch copper company, the York building company, and many others, were formed.

9. See the printed act.

10. Theſe emoluments, as we have already ſeen, were very great; yet ſo intelligent a writer as Dr. Smollet has ſaid, "That in the ſcheme of Law "there was *ſomething ſubſtantial*: an *excluſive trade* to *Louiſiana* promiſed *ſome* "*advantage*; but the South Sea ſcheme promiſed *no commercial advantage* of "*any conſequence*." (*Hiſt. of Eng.* vol x.) So liable are men of the greateſt talents to be the dupes of ignorance or prejudice!

No intereſted project was ſo abſurd as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South Sea ſcheme continued to be the great object of attraction. At length, however, to uſe the phraſe of the times, the *bubble* began to *burſt*. It was diſcovered, that ſuch as were thought to be in the ſecret had diſpoſed of all their ſtock, while the tide was at its height. An univerſal alarm was ſpread. Every one wanted to ſell, and no body to buy, except at a very reduced price. The South Sea ſtock fell as rapidly as it had riſen, and to the loweſt ebb; ſo that, in a little time, nothing was to be ſeen of this bewitching ſcheme but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of diſappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of deſpair!—The timely interpoſition and ſteady wiſdom of parliament only could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

December.

A Committee of the houſe of commons was choſen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South Sea act; and this committee diſcovered, that before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of five hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand pounds had been diſpoſed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the paſſing of the bill. Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the Exchequer, who had ſhared largely in the ſtock, was expelled the houſe of commons, and committed to the Tower, for having promoted the deſtructive execution of "the South Sea "ſcheme, with a view to his own exhorbitant profit; and "having combined with the directors in their pernicious "practices, to the ruin of public credit." Mr. ſecretary Craggs and his father, alſo great delinquents, died before they underwent the cenſure of the houſe; but the commons

A. D. 1721.

reſolved,

resolved, neverthelefs, that Mr. Craggs, fenior, was "a no-"torious accomplice with Robert Knight, treafurer to the "South Sea company, and fome of the directors, in carry-"ing on their fcandalous practices: and, therefore, that all "the eftate of which he was poffeffed at the time of his "death, fhould be applied toward the relief of the unhappy "fufferers by the South Sea fcheme [11]." The eftates of the directors were alfo confifcated by act of parliament, and directed to be applied to the fame purpofe, after a certain allowance was deducted for each director, according to his conduct and circumftances.

The commons having thus punifhed the chief promoters of this iniquitous fcheme, by ftripping them of their ill-got wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as poffible, the mifchiefs it had occafioned. They accordingly prepared a bill for that purpofe. On the inquiries relative to the framing of this bill, it appeared, That the whole capital ftock of the South Sea company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-feven millions eight hundred thoufand pounds; that the ftock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thoufand pounds; that the remaining capital ftock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity, being the profit arifing from the execution of the fraudulent ftock-jobbing fcheme. Out of this, it was enacted, that feven millions fhould be paid to the public fufferers. It was likewife enacted, that feveral additions fhould be made to the ftock of the proprietors, out of that poffeffed by the company in their own right; and that, after fuch diftributions, the remaining capital ftock fhould be divided among the proprietors. By thefe wife and equitable regulations, public credit was reftored, and the ferment of the nation gradually fubfided.

The difcontents and diforders occafioned by the South Sea fcheme encouraged the Englifh Jacobites to think of

11. Journals of the Commons, 1721.

making

making a new attempt to change the line of ſucceſſion. But the ſame want of concert, ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, attended this, as every other plan for the reſtoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George I. who had ſpies in every popiſh court, and who had, by alliances, made almoſt every European potentate his friend, was informed, by the regent of France, of the conſpiracy hatching againſt his government.

A. D. 1722. In conſequence of this information, Chriſtopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle-Temple, was taken into cuſtody, condemned, and executed, for having enliſted men for the ſervice of the Pretender. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter, lord North and Grey, with many other ſuſpected perſons of leſs note, were committed to the Tower. But they were all acquitted, for want of evidence, except the biſhop of Rocheſter, who was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and baniſhed the kingdom for life [12].

As Dr. Atterbury was a man of diſtinguiſhed talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party, his cauſe was warmly pleaded in the houſe of peers. Lord Bathurſt, turning towards the bench of biſhops, who had diſcovered peculiar animoſity againſt the priſoner, ſaid he could hardly account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which ſome men purſued the learned and ingenious prelate, unleſs they were infatuated with the ſuperſtition of certain ſavages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the ſpoils, but the abilities, of any great man whom they deſtroy [13]. When the biſhop of Rocheſter arrived at Calais, he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and had the ſpirit to obſerve, ſmiling, that they were *exchanged!*

Soon after this conſpiracy was defeated, died Philip duke of

A. D. 1723. Orleans, regent of France, one of the moſt elegant, accompliſhed, and diſſipated men of his time. As a prince, he poſſeſſed great talents for govern-

12. Tindal. Smollett.

13. *Parl. Debates*, 1722.

ment,

ment, which he did not fail to exert during his adminiſtration. Notwithſtanding his precarious ſituation, he governed France with more abſolute authority than any miniſter ſince cardinal Richelieu, and took many important ſteps for the benefit of the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the neceſſity of making the oppreſſed people forget their miſeries in a perpetual round of amuſements, introduced an univerſal corruption of manners, which ſpread itſelf even to foreign nations[14]. He was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration, but not in the regency, the king being come of age, by the duke of Bourbon. This miniſter was ſoon ſupplanted by cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific diſpoſition, who had been preceptor to Lewis XV. and who, at the advanced age of ſeventy-three, took upon him the cares of government.

Fortunately for the happineſs of mankind, ſir Robert Walpole, who began about the ſame time to acquire an aſcendant in the councils of Great Britain, and who ſoon after became prime miniſter, poſſeſſed a diſpoſition no leſs pacific than that of Fleury. In conſequence of this coinciding mildneſs of temper, the repoſe of Europe was continued, with little interruption, for almoſt twenty years. Meanwhile ſeveral treaties were negociated between its different kingdoms and ſtates, for ſecuring more effectually, as was pretended, the objects of the Quadruple Alliance, and the balance of power. One of theſe treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spaniſh monarch, excited the jealouſy of George I. who was under apprehenſions for the ſafety of his German dominions, as well as of ſome ſecret article in favour of the

A. D. 1725.

14. The death of the duke of Orleans was diſtinguiſhed by a very ſingular circumſtance. Having neglected his uſual time of bleeding, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, in the arms of the ducheſs de Talaris, and inſtantly expired. Auguſtus II. king of Poland, when informed of this circumſtance, wantonly exclaimed, in the words of ſcripture, "O may I die the death of this *juſt* man?" alluding to his paying at once the debt of nature and the debt of love. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages, in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation[15]: and it guarantied a new East India company, lately established at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland, were equally desirous of suppressing.

In order to counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great

A. D. 1726.

Britain, however, fitted out three stout squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, under admiral Hosier, who had orders to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them, if they attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, where he was restrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, the greater part of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships

A. D. 1727.

were ruined by the worms, and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart.

The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after brought about, through the mediation of France. It was agreed, That the charter of the Ostend East India Company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations in the Quadruple Alliance, but particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of

15. Count Konigseck, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Madid, had procured these advantageous conditions for his master, Charles VI. by flattering the queen of Spain with a prospect of a match between her son Don Carlos, and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to all the extensive dominions of the House of Austria. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

Parma,

Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, ſhould be fulfilled; and that all differences ſhould be adjuſted by a congreſs. This congreſs, which was held at Soiſſons, produced the treaty of Seville, by which all grounds of diſpute were finally removed.

During theſe negociations died George I. a prudent and virtuous prince, whoſe attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made uſe of by the Tories to render him odious to the Engliſh nation. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, George II. whoſe acceſſion made no alteration in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics. The adminiſtration was wiſely continued in the hands of the Whigs, the only true friends to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, or to the principles of the Revolution: and the ſame Tory faction, which had ſo frequently attempted to thwart the meaſures, and overturn the throne of the firſt George, continued their violent oppoſition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction, namely, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, being men of great abilities, were ſoon joined by certain diſguſted courtiers, of equal if not ſuperior talents, who hoped, by ſuch coalition, to humble their ſucceſsful rivals, and get into their own hands the higheſt employments of the ſtate. Mr. Pulteney, the fineſt ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and lately a member of adminiſtration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Cheſterfield, the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators in the houſe of peers, afterwards joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually oppoſing the meaſures of government, and paſſionately railing againſt continental connections, ſoon acquired great popularity, and at laſt became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or Country Party, as the members in oppoſition affected to call themſelves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midſt of the moſt profound peace, and the higheſt national proſperity; and a ſmall ſtanding army, which it was thought

prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, has suffered more from a pernicions system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first made necessary, than from the so much dreaded military establishment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the machine rendered almost stationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown must be employed, in order to accelerate their motion. The force of opposition must be broken: its ablest members must be drawn over to the side of royalty, by the emoluments of office or the splendour of titles; by the highest honours and employments of the state. If this cannot be effected, if nothing less will content their pride than an entirely new arrangement of the servants of the crown, a measure always disagreeable to a sovereign, and often dangerous, as it may possibly be attended with the loss of his throne:—if the heads of opposition cannot be taught silence, or induced to change sides, without a total change of administration, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority in the national assembly by *other means* [16]. No minister ever understood these means better than Sir Robert Walpole. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many; and, to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections [17]. The fountain of liberty was poisoned in its source.

16. Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good minister must always be able to command such a majority, merely by the rectitude of his measures; but experience has evinced, that in factious times, all the weight of government is often necessary to carry even the best measures.

17. "To destroy British liberty," says lord Bolingbroke, "with an army "of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. "To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual method." *Dissert. on Parties*, Letter x.

This, my dear Philip, is an evil interwoven with the very frame of our mixed government, and which renders it, in many respects, inferior to a mere monarchy, regulated by laws, where corruption can never become a necessary engine of state. To say, that it is absolutely necessary, in our government, would perhaps be going too far; but experience proves, that it has generally been thought so, since the Revolution, when the powers of the crown were abridged. The opportunity which able and ambitious men have, by the freedom of debate in parliament, and which they have seldom failed to exercise, of obstructing our public measures, renders the *influence* of the crown in some degree necessary: and that is but a more refined species of *corruption*, or a milder name for the same thing.

Our patriotic ancestors, who so gloriously struggled for the abolition of the more dangerous parts of the prerogative, certainly did not foresee the weight of this enslaving influence, which the entire collecting and management of an immense public revenue has thrown into the scale of government, by giving rise to such a multitude of officers, created by, and removeable at, the royal pleasure; and by the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligations, by preference in loans, lottery-tickets, contracts, and other money-transactions; an influence too great for human virtue to withstand, and which has left us little more than the shadow of a free constitution[18]. The Revolution was an over-hasty

18. "Nothing," as lord Bolingbroke very justly remarks, "can destroy "the constitution of Britain, but the people of Britain; and whenever the "people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption (for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative) "to chuse persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found "by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest— "dependants upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who "bring no recommendation, but that which they carry in their purses; then "will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that *the corruption of* "*the best things are the worst*: for then will that very change in the state of "property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute "to the destruction of it." *Dissert. on Parties*, Let. xvii.

meaſure: it guarded only againſt the direct encroachments of the crown. The ſubſequent proviſions were few: and the Whigs, formerly ſo jealous of liberty, were afterward ſo fully employed, one while in combating their political enemies, in order to preſerve the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown, and at an other in oppoſing the violent faction occaſioned, by the Hanoverian ſuceſſion, which it had been their great object to bring about, that they had no leiſure to attend to the new bias of the conſtitution. In their anxiety for the ſecurity of that ſucceſſion, ſtimulated by the luſt of power, they ſhamefully neglected the independency of parliament, as well as the freedom of elections, in which it has its origin, till the malady was too inveterate to admit of a ſpeedy cure. The Septennial Bill was a cruel ſtab to liberty.

Let us not, however, deſpair. Some late laws relative to elections, and for excluding from the houſe of commons contractors and money-jobbers, will greatly contribute to reſtore, if not to perfect the Britiſh conſtitution. But the friends of monarchy will perhaps queſtion, whether an independent parliament would be a *public good* in this *licentious* kingdom? And that queſtion is not without its difficulties. Yet we know, that *corruption* is a *public evil*; that it is the parent of *licentiouſneſs*, and of every enſlaving vice. And as the reigning family is now fully eſtabliſhed on the throne, and without a competitor, government happily can have no occaſion for *undue* influence, in order to carry any wholeſome meaſure. I ſhall, therefore, conclude my obſervations on this ſubject with the memorable words of lord Bolingbroke: —"The *integrity of parliament* is a kind of PALLADIUM, "a tutelary goddeſs, who protects our ſtate [19]"—and if ever ſhe is finally removed, we muſt bid adieu to all the bleſſings of a free people. The forms of our conſtitution, and the names of its different branches, may remain, but we ſhall not be, on that account, the leſs ſlaves.

19. *Diſſert. on Parties*, Let. x.

In consequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna, Don Carlos took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, on the succession becoming vacant, the emperor withdrawing his troops. A. D. 1731. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given so much umbrage to France, England, and Holland, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers, in the treaty of Seville, should guaranty the PRAGMATIC SANCTION; or domestic law, by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were secured to the heirs female of the emperor Charles VI. in case he should die without male issue. The proposal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed, till the death of Augustus II. king of Poland [20].

On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, in 1704, and whom Peter the Great had dethroned, A. D. 1733. now become father-in-law to Lewis XV. was a second time chosen king. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector

20. That prince, when surprised by death, was occupied with a design of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. With this view he had planned a division of the Polish dominions, hoping thereby to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours The project, however, he knew to be impracticable, without the concurrence of the king of Prussia. He, therefore, desired Frederic II. to send him the mareschal de Grumkou, that he might open his mind to him. Augustus wanted to pump Grumkou, and Grumkou was no less anxious to discover the sentiments of the king. Mutually actuated by this motive, they contrived to make each other drunk: and that drunken bout was followed by the king of Poland's death, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, of which he never got the better. (*Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii) Augustus II. was endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments. It was this Augustus, who, in a fit of gallantry, twisted a horse-shoe in the presence of a fine woman, in order to give her some idea of his personal powers; and, at the same time, presented to her a purse of gold, to make her sensible of his generosity. Love perhaps never spoke a more eloquent language.

 of

of Saxony, ſon of the late king of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was raiſed to the throne, under the name of Auguſtus III. and Staniſlaus, as formerly, was forced to abandon his crown.

Though the diſtance of his ſituation, and the pacific diſpoſition of his miniſter, prevented the king of France from yielding effectual ſupport to his father-in-law, a ſenſe of his own dignity determined him to take revenge upon the emperor, for the inſult he had ſuffered in the perſon of that unfortunate prince. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who alſo thought themſelves aggrieved, and war was begun in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany. The duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine, at the head of the French army, and reduced Fort Kehl. He afterward inveſted Philipſburgh, in the face of the Imperial forces, while the count de Belleiſle made himſelf maſter of Traerbach. The duke of Berwick was killed by a cannon-ball, in viſiting the trenches [21]; but Philipſburg was taken nevertheleſs. The marquis d'Asfeld, who ſucceeded to the command of the

A. D. 1734.

21. The mareſchal of Berwick is juſtly reputed one of the greateſt of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup d'œil* quicker or more accurate; whether, in battle, to diſcover the blunders of an enemy, and make thoſe deciſive moments that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to obſerve and take advantage of poſitions, on which the ſucceſs of the whole depends. His character in private life, though no leſs worthy admiration, is leſs known. "It was impoſſible," ſays Monteſquieu, "to "behold him, and not to be in love with virtue, ſo evident was tranquillity "and happineſs in his ſoul. No man ever knew better how to avoid ex"ceſſes; or, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, to keep clear of the ſnares of virtue. "He had a great fund of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not "bear to be governed by them. No man ever followed more ſtrictly thoſe "precepts of the Goſpel which are moſt troubleſome to men of the world; "no man, in a word, ever practiſed religion ſo much, and talked of it ſo "little. He never ſpoke ill of any one, nor beſtowed any praiſe upon thoſe "whom he did not think deſerving of it. In the works of Plutarch I have "ſeen, at a diſtance, what great men were; in him I behold, at a nearer "view, what they are." *Sketch of an Hiſtorical Panegyric.*

French

French army, as the eldeſt lieutenant-general, continued the operations of the ſiege in ſight of prince Eugene; and in ſpite of the efforts of that experienced general, and the overflowings of the Rhine, the place was forced to ſurrender.

The French and their allies were no leſs ſucceſsful in Italy. The count de Montemar having gained a complete victory over the Imperialiſts, at Bitonto in Apulia, the Spaniards afterward carried every thing before them; and in two campaigns, became maſters of Naples and Sicily. Meanwhile the forces of France and Piedmont, under old mareſchal Villars and the king of Sardinia, took Milan and other important places. The mareſchal de Coigny, who ſucceeded to the command of the French army on the death Villars, defeated the Imperialiſts under the walls of Parma, after an obſtinate battle, in which count de Merci, the Imperial general, was killed. The Imperialiſts were again worſted at Guaſtalla, where the prince of Wurtenburg was ſlain. In theſe two engagements the emperor loſt above ten thouſand men. A. D. 1735.

Diſcouraged by ſo many defeats, his Imperial majeſty ſignified his deſire of peace; and as peace was the ſincere and conſtant wiſh of cardinal Fleury, a treaty for that end was ſoon concluded. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, That Staniſlaus ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the throne of Poland, in conſideration of the ceſſion of the duchy of Lorrain, which he ſhould enjoy during life, and which, after his death, ſhould be reunited to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorrain ſhould have Tuſcany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Lewis XV. ſhould inſure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thouſand livres, till the death of the grand-duke, John Gaſton, the laſt prince of the houſe of Medicis; that the emperor ſhould acknowledge Don Carlos king of the Two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as an indemnification for theſe two kingdoms; that he ſhould cede to the king of Sardinia, who had ſome old pretenſions to the whole

duchy

duchy of Milan, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes. And, in consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction[22].

Scarce was this peace negociated, when a new war broke out on the confines of Europe and Asia, in which the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the ravages of the Crim Tartars, as well as at the neglect of the Ottoman Porte to her repeated remonstrances on that subject, the empress of Russia resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Lasci, one of her generals, to attack Azoph, which he reduced; while the count de Munich, entering the Crimea with another army, forced the lines of Prekop, made himself master of the place itself, took Baniesary, and laid all Tartary waste with fire and sword.

A. D. 1736.

Next campaign Munich entered the Ukraine, and invested Oczakow, which was carried by assault, though defended by a garrison of three thousand Janizaries and seven thousand Bosniacs. A bomb having set fire to the powder magazine, it immediately blew up and communicated its contents to many of the houses. The Russian general seized this opportunity to storm the town; and the Turks, unable to recover themselves from their consternation, or to fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings all in flames, tamely suffered themselves to be cut to pieces[23].

A. D. 1737.

The rapid successes of the Russians awaked the ambition of the court of Vienna, which was bound, by treaty, to assist that of Petersburg against the Porte. The emperor was made to believe, That if he should attack the Turks, on the side of Hungary, while the Russians continued to press them on the borders of the Black Sea, the Ottoman empire might be finally subverted. Prophecies were even propagated, That the period fatal to the Crescent was at last arrived[24].

22. Voltaire. Tindal. Smollett.
23. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii. 24. Id. ibid.

But

But these prophecies and the emperor's ambitious hopes proved equally illusory. The Turks turned their principal force toward Hungary. The Imperial generals were repeatedly defeated; several important places were lost, and Belgrade was besieged; when Charles VI. A. D. 1739. iscouraged by his misfortunes, and resolving to put an end to a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had recourse to the mediation of France. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, accordingly repaired to the Turkish camp; and the empress of Russia, though recently victorious at Choczim, afraid of being deserted by her ally, and left to support alone the whole weight of the war, had also recourse to negociation.

In consequence of this pacific disposition in the Christian allies, the Turks, so lately devoted to destruction, obtained an advantageous peace. By that treaty, the emperor ceded to the grand seignior Belgrade, Sabatz, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with Servia, and Austrian Walachia: and the contracting powers agreed, That the Danube and the Saave should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. The empress of Russia was left in possession of Azoph, but on condition that its fortification should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Soon after this peace was signed, died the emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, the disputed succession A. D. 1740. to whose hereditary dominions kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. But before we enter upon that important subject, I must give you, my dear Philip, a short account of the maritime war already begun between Spain and Great Britain; and, in order to make the grounds of their quarrel distinctly understood, it will be necessary to continue our view of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization.

LETTER XXVII.

Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1739, when SPAIN *and* GREAT BRITAIN *engaged in a Maritime War, occasioned by certain Commercial Disputes—an Account of the Principal Events in that War—the taking of* PORTO BELLO, *the Siege of* CARTHAGENA, *and the Expedition of Commodore* ANSON *to the* SOUTH SEA.

WE have seen, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But the Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English Navigation Act, passed by the commonwealth parliament, in 1651; and the subsequent wars between England and Holland, during the reign of Charles II. reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their trade to the East Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a lanquishing condition till after the Revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North America and the West Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey [1]. During no former or subsequent period, in a word, did England ever make such rapid progress in commerce and riches, as during that inglorious one, which followed the Restoration, and terminated with the expulsion of the house of Stuart [2]; though

1. England sent annually to the Levant above twenty thousand pieces of woollen cloth.

2. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England was more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. (*Discourse on the Public Revenues*, part ii.) And we are told by sir Josiah Child, that in 1688, there were, on the 'Change, more men worth *ten* thousand pounds, than there were, in 1650, worth *one* thousand. *Brief Observations*, &c.

she

ſhe found, at the ſame time, a formidable rival in France, and a rival whoſe encroachments were not ſufficiently repreſſed, by her puſillanimous and penſioned monarchs.

The great Colbert, who, as I have had occaſion to notice, introduced order into the French finances in the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. who encouraged the arts, promoted manufactures, and may be ſaid to have created the French navy; Colbert eſtabliſhed an Eaſt India company, in 1664. This company, which founded its principal ſettlement at Pondicherry, on the coaſt of Coromandel, never attained to any high degree of proſperity, notwithſtanding the countenance ſhewn it by government. At laſt, in conſequence of Law's Miſſiſippi ſcheme, it was united with the Weſt India company, which had been eſtabliſhed in the ſame year with that trading to the Eaſt, and was alſo in a languiſhing condition. A ſeparation afterward took place. The Weſt India company was judiciouſly aboliſhed, as a pernicious monopoly[3]; and the French trade to the Eaſt Indies became, for a time, of ſome importance, while that to the Weſt Indies flouriſhed greatly from the moment it was made free.

But France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and induſtry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extenſive, and naturally fertile territory. Her wines, her brandies, her reſins, her olives, have been long in requeſt, and by her ingenious manufactures, eſtabliſhed or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and ſilver ſtuffs, her tapeſtries, her carpets, her ſilks, her velvets, her laces, her linens, and her toys, ſhe laid all Europe, and indeed the whole world, under contribution for half a century.

3. Excluſive companies may ſometimes be uſeful to nouriſh an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade between different parts of the dominions of the ſame prince, under the protection of his laws, and carried on by his own ſubjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, ſuch companies muſt be equally abſurd in their nature and ruinous in their conſequence to commerce.

tury. Colbert extended his attention alſo to the manufacture of wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taſte and fancy in the colours, and by the ſuperior conveniency of the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles, ſoon acquired the almoſt entire poſſeſſion of the trade of Turkey, formerly ſo beneficial to England. The ſame, and other circumſtances, have procured them a great ſhare in the trade of Spain and Portugal[4].

The proſperity of the French manufactures, however, received a temporary check, from the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685. The perſecuted Proteſtants, to the number of almoſt a million, who had been chiefly employed in theſe manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other countries, where they could enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; carrying along with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their induſtry, to a very great amount, in gold and ſilver. They were much careſſed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of ſilk, and of linen. The importation of thoſe articles from France was ſoon prohibited, as inconſiſtent with national intereſt; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw or unmanufactured ſilk was imported from Italy and China; beaver ſkins were procured from Hudſon's Bay, where ſettlements had been eſtabliſhed, and where all ſorts of furs were found in the greateſt plenty, and of the moſt excellent quality. Clock and watch-work was executed, in England, with the utmoſt elegance and exactneſs, as well as all other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewelry; the cotton manufactory, now ſo highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every ſpecies were at length finiſhed with ſo much taſte and facility as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itſelf, the birth-place of faſhion, and the nurſery of ſplendid bagatelles.

4. Anderſon's *Hiſt. of Commerce*, vol. ii

In

In the mean time, the Engliſh and French colonies, in North America, enlarged their boundaries, and increaſed in wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or new France, was augmented by the ſettlement of Louiſiana and a line of communication was eſtabliſhed, before the middle of the preſent century, from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Miſſiſippi. The Engliſh colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the ſea-coaſt, from the bottom of the Bay of Fundy to the river Altahama, on the frontiers of Florida. New England furniſhed maſts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uſes; New York and New Jerſey, formerly known by the name of Nova Belgia, conquered from the Dutch, in 1664, and Penſilvania, ſettled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the ſupply of the Engliſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was become a ſtaple commodity, in high requeſt, and a great ſource of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, ſo neceſſary to a naval and commercial people, ſoon became of vaſt importance.

But the moſt beneficial trade of both nations aroſe, and ſtill continues to proceed, from their colonies in the Weſt India Iſlands. The rich produce of thoſe iſlands, which is chiefly intended for exportation, and all carried in the ſhips of the mother-countries, affords employment to a great number of ſeamen; and as the inhabitants, who do not ſo much as make their own wearing apparel, or the common implements of huſbandry, are ſupplied with clothing of all kinds, houſehold furniture, tools, toys, and even the luxuries of the table, from Europe, the intercourſe is active, and productive of mutual proſperity and happineſs. The iſlands in the American Archipelago, in a word, are the prime marts for French and Engliſh manufactures, and furniſh the nations to which they belong, in their ſugars, their rums, their cotton,

coffee,

coffee, cocoa, and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

Nor are thoſe iſlands deſtitute of the precious metals, though now leſs plenty there than formerly. An inquiry into this ſubject will lead us to many curious particulars in the hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, and prove, at the ſame time, a neceſſary introduction to the maritime war between England and Spain, which broke out in 1739.

After the failure of the mines of Hiſpaniola, which were never rich, and the conqueſt of the two extenſive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greateſt profuſion, that valuable iſland was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flouriſhing cities were deſerted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained ſunk into the moſt enervating indolence. The neceſſaries, however, and even many of the luxuries of life, were there found in abundance. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but eſpecially the horned cattle, which were become in a manner wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by theſe conveniences, certain French and Engliſh adventurers, ſince known by the name of Buccaneers or Freebooters, had taken poſſeſſion of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under ſuch favourable circumſtances, of eſtabliſhing themſelves on the northern coaſt of Hiſpaniola. They at firſt ſubſiſted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate freſh, part they dried, and the hides they ſold to the maſters of ſuch veſſels as came upon the coaſt, and who furniſhed them, in return, with cloaths, liquors, fire-arms, powder, and ſhot [5]. But the wild cattle at length becoming

5. The dreſs of the Buccaneers conſiſted of a ſhirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had ſlain; a pair of trowſers, dirtier than the ſhirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a ſhort ſabre, and ſome Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it

becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. The sober-minded men applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly requited their toil, while those of a bold and restless disposition associated themselves with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England are indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical Buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in an open boat, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniencies, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the Buccaneers averse against all those restraints, which civilized men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain, was chiefly confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent œconomy, they were frequently exposed to all the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail trans-

off; shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. (*Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii.) These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccaneers*, because they dried with smoke, conformable to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *buccans* in the language of the natives. Id. ibid.

ported them to a degree of frenzy. They ſeldom deliberated on the mode of attack, but their cuſtom was to board the ſhips as ſoon as poſſible. The ſmallneſs of their own veſſels, and their dexterity in managing them, preſerved them from the fire of the enemy. They preſented only to the broadſide of a ſhip, their ſlender prows, filled with expert markſmen, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with ſuch exactneſs, as to confound the moſt experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle, the largeſt trading veſſels were generally obliged to ſtrike [6].

Although the Buccaneers, when under the preſſure of neceſſity, attacked the ſhips of every nation, thoſe belonging to the ſubjects of Spain were more eſpecially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought that the cruelties, which the Spaniards had exercifed on the natives of the New World, were a ſufficient apology for any violence that could be committed againſt them. Accommodating their conſcience to this belief, which, perhaps, unknown to themſelves, was rather dictated by the richneſs of the Spaniſh veſſels than by any real ſenſe of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to heaven for its ſucceſs; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without ſolemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune [7].

6. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi ſup. *Hiſt. Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vi.

7. Id. ibid. This is a precious picture of the inconſiſtency of human nature, and a ſtriking proof how little connection there frequently is between religion and morality! a truth which is farther illuſtrated by the following curious anecdote. "One of the chief cauſes of our diſagreement," ſays an enlightened Freebooter, ſpeaking of the quarrels between the French and Engliſh Buccaneers, in their expedition to the South Sea, "was the *impiety* of "the Engliſh; for they made no ſcruple, when they got into a church, to *cut* "*down* the *arms* of a *crucifix* with their *ſabres*, or to ſhoot them down with "their fuſils and piſtols, *bruiſing* and *maiming* the *images* of the *ſaints* in the "ſame manner!" (*Voy. des Flibuſt.* par Raveneau de Luſſan.) But it does not appear that thoſe devout plunderers, who were ſhocked at ſeeing the *image* of a ſaint *maimed*, were more tender than the Engliſh Buccaneers, of the *perſons* or *properties* of their *fellow-creatures*, or ever attempted to reſtrain their *impious aſſociates* from any act of *injuſtice* or *inhumanity*.

This

This booty was originally carried to the iſland of Tortuga, the common rendezvous of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of ſafety. But afterward the French went to ſome of the ports of Hiſpaniola, where they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the Engliſh to thoſe of Jamaica, where they could diſpoſe of their prizes to more advantage, and lay out their money more agreeably, either in buſineſs or pleaſure.

Before the diſtribution of the ſpoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and proteſted he had ſecreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a caſe that ſeldom occurred, he was puniſhed in a manner truly exemplary, and worthy the imitation of better men. He was expelled the community, and left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, upon ſome deſert iſland, as a wretch unworthy to live in ſociety, even with the deſtroyers of their ſpecies!

After providing for the ſick, the wounded, the maimed, and ſettling their ſeveral ſhares, the Buccaneers indulged themſelves in all kinds of licentiouſneſs. Their debauches, which they carried to the greateſt exceſs, were limited only by the want that ſuch prodigality occaſioned. If they were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had earned with ſo much jeopardy, they made this very ingenious reply:—" Expoſed as we are to a " variety of perils, our life is totally different from that of " other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive to-day, and " run the hazard of being dead to-morrow, think of hoard- " ing?—Studious only of enjoying the preſent hour, we " never think of that which is to come [8]." This has ever been the language of men in ſuch circumſtances: the deſire of diſſipating life, not ſolicitude for the preſervation of exiſtence, ſeems to increaſe in proportion to the danger of loſing it.

8. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii. ch. 1.

The ſhips that ſailed from Europe to America ſeldom tempted the avidity of the firſt Buccaneers, as the merchandize they carried could not readily have been ſold in the Weſt Indies in thoſe early times. But they eagerly watched the Spaniſh veſſels on their return to Europe, when certain they were partly laden with treaſure. They commonly followed the Galleons and Flota, employed in tranſporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ſhip was ſeparated from the fleet, they inſtantly beſet her, and ſhe ſeldom eſcaped them. They even ventured to attack ſeveral ſhips at once: and the Spaniards, who conſidered them as dæmons, and trembled at their approach, commonly ſurrendered, if they came to cloſe quarters [9].

A remarkable inſtance of this timidity on the one ſide, and temerity on the other, occurs in the hiſtory of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe in Normandy; who, with a ſmall veſſel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men, and four guns, had the boldneſs to attack the vice-admiral of the Galleons. Reſolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the ſame purpoſe from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the ſide of his own veſſel, that all hope of eſcape might be cut off. This was no ſooner done than he boarded the Spaniſh ſhip, with a ſword in one hand, and a piſtol in the other; and bearing down all reſiſtance, entered the great cabin, attended by a few of the moſt deſperate of his aſſociates. He there found the admiral ſurrounded by his officers; preſented a piſtol to his breaſt, and ordered him to ſurrender. Meanwhile the reſt of the Buccaneers took poſſeſſion of the gun-room, and ſeized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards demanded quarter [10]. Like examples are numerous in the hiſtory of the Buccaneers.

The Spaniards, almoſt reduced to deſpair, by finding them-

9. Id. ibid. 10. *Hiſt. Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vii.

ſelves

ſelves a continual prey to thoſe ravagers, diminiſhed the number of their ſhips, and the colonies gave up their connexions with each other. Theſe humiliating precautions, however, ſerved but to increaſe the boldneſs of the Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spaniſh ſettlements only to procure proviſions; but no ſooner did they find their captures decreaſe, than they determined to procure by land, that wealth which the ſea denied them. They accordingly formed themſelves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richeſt and ſtrongeſt towns in the New World. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Carthagena, on this ſide of the continent, ſeverely felt the effects of their fury; and Quayaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coaſts of the South Sea, were not more fortunate in their reſiſtance, or treated with greater lenity [11]. In a word, the Buccaneers, the moſt extraordinary ſet of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whoſe duration was tranſitory, ſubjected to their arms, without a regular ſyſtem of government, without laws, without any permanent ſubordination, and even without revenue, cities and caſtles which have baffled the utmoſt efforts of national force; and if conqueſt, not plunder, had been their object, they might have made themſelves maſters of all Spaniſh America.

Among the Buccaneers who firſt acquired diſtinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial, and perhaps exaggerated account of the cruelties practiſed by the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the New World, he conceived a ſtrong antipathy againſt a nation that had committed ſo many enormities. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a brood of ſavage monſters nurſed in the mountains of Caſtile. The unhappy victims, whoſe names were

11. Ibid. part i. ii. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi ſup.

ever present to his memory, seemed to call upon him for vengeance: he longed to imbrue his hands in Spanish blood, and to retaliate the cruelties of the Spaniards, on the same shores where they had been perpetrated. He accordingly embarked on board a French ship bound to the West Indies, about the middle of the last century, and joined the Buccaneers, whose natural ferocity he inflamed. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator* [12].

Michael de Basco and Francis Lolonois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate enterprise, was that of the Gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels, and six hundred and sixty associates. This gulf runs a considerable way up into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maracaybo, by a narrow strait. That strait is defended by a castle called *la Barra*, which the Buccaneers took, and nailed up the cannon. They then passed the bar, and advanced to the city of Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake, at the distance of about ten leagues from its mouth. But, to their inexpressible disappointment, they found it utterly deserted and unfurnished; the inhabitants, apprised of their danger, having removed to the other side of the lake with their most valuable effects.

A. D. 1667.

If the Buccaneers had not spent a fortnight in riot and debauchery, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing which the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to elude their rapacity. On the contrary, by their imprudent delay, they met with fortifications newly erected, which they had the glory of reducing at the expence of much blood, and the mortification of finding another empty town. Exasperated at this second disappointment, the Buccaneers set fire to Gibraltar; and

12. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

Maracaybo

Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſide the bribe they received for their lenity, they took with them the bells, images, and all the ornamental furniture of the churches; intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate that part of their ſpoils to ſacred uſes[13]! Like other plunderers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the abſurdity of offering to Heaven the fruits of robbery and murder, procured in direct violation of its laws.

But of all the Buccaneers, French or Engliſh, none was ſo uniformly ſucceſsful, or executed ſo many great and daring enterpriſes, as Henry Morgan, a native of the principality of Wales. While de Baſco, Lolonois, and their companions, were ſquandering at Tortuga the ſpoils they had acquired in the gulf of Venezuela, Morgan ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and his meaſures were ſo well concerted, that ſoon after his landing, he ſurpriſed the centinels, and made himſelf maſter of the town, before the Spaniards could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. A. D. 1668.

In hopes of reducing with the ſame facility the citadel, or chief caſtle, into which the citizens had conveyed their moſt valuable property, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan bethought himſelf of an expedient that diſcovers his knowledge of national characters as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the prieſts, nuns, and other women, whom he had made priſoners, to plant the ſcaling ladders againſt the walls of the fortreſs, from a perſuaſion that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards would not ſuffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himſelf deceived in this flattering conjecture. The Spaniſh governor, who was a reſolute ſoldier, uſed his utmoſt efforts to deſtroy every one that approached the works. Morgan and his Engliſh aſſociates, however, carried the place by ſtorm, in ſpite of all oppoſi-

13. *Hiſt. Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. i.

tion; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandize, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling [14].

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise. Understanding that de Basco and Lolonois had been disappointed in the promised plunder of Maracaybo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved, from emulation no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view, he collected fifteen vessels, carrying nine hundred and sixty men. These ravagers entered the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defends the passage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town, as formerly, totally deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however, with this booty, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting, by the most horrid cruelties, to extort from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men of war at the entrance of the lake.

A. D. 1669.

At this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, the heart of the bravest Buccaneer sunk within him. But although Morgan considered his condition as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the city of Maracaybo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," said he, "to dispute your passage out of the lake: and I have the means of doing it. Nevertheless, if you will submit to surrender, with humility, all the booty and prisoners you have taken,

14. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. vi.

"I will

"I will suffer you to paſs, and permit you to return to your "own country, without trouble or moleſtation. But if you "reject this offer, or heſitate to comply, I will order boats "from Caracas, in which I will embark my troops; and, "ſailing to Maracaybo, will put every man of you to the "ſword. This is my final determination. Be prudent there-"fore, and do not abuſe my bounty by an ungrateful re-"turn [15]. I have with me," added he, "very good troops, "who deſire nothing more ardently than to revenge on you "and your people, all the cruelties and depredations which "you have committed upon the Spaniſh nation in America."

The moment Morgan received this letter, he called together his followers; and, after acquainting them with its contents, deſired them to deliberate, whether they would give up all their plunder, in order to ſecure their liberty, or fight for it?—They unanimouſly anſwered, That they would rather loſe the laſt drop of their blood, than reſign a booty which had been purchaſed with ſo much peril. Morgan, however, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, endeavoured to compromiſe the matter, but in vain. The Spaniſh admiral continued to inſiſt on his firſt conditions. When Morgan was made acquainted with this inflexibility, he coolly replied: "If Don Alonzo will not allow me to paſs, I will "find means to paſs without his permiſſion." He accordingly made a diviſion of the ſpoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a veſſel, which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gunpowder and other combuſtible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burnt two of the Spaniſh ſhips, took one; and by making a feint of diſembarking men, in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted the attention of the garriſon to that ſide, while he paſſed the bar

15. "Dated on board the royal ſhip, named the *Magdalen*, lying at anchor "at the entrance of the lake of Maracaybo, this 24th of April, 1669. Don "ALONZO del CAMPO." *Voy. des Flibuſt. Hiſt. Buccaneers*, part ii. c. vii.

with his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage [16].

The ſucceſs of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, ſerved only to ſtimulate him to yet greater undertakings.

A. D. 1670. Having diſpoſed of his booty at Port Royal in Jamaica, he again put to ſea with a larger fleet, and a more numerous body of adventurers; and after reducing the iſland of St. Catharine, where he procured a ſupply of naval and military ſtores, he ſteered for the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct him to Panama, the grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river, ſtood a ſtrong caſtle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garriſon, which threatened to baffle all the efforts of the Buccaneers; when an arrow, ſhot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of thoſe reſolute men. With wonderful firmneſs and preſence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the wound; and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his muſket, which was already loaded, and diſcharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houſes were of ſtraw, and the ſides of wood, conformable to the cuſtom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houſes, which immediately took fire; a circumſtance that threw the Spaniards into the utmoſt conſternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of periſhing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the blowing up of the powder-magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely periſhed with his ſword in his hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place ſurrendered to the aſſailants [17].

This chief obſtacle being removed, Morgan and his aſſociates, leaving the larger veſſels under a guard, ſailed up the Chagre in boats to Cruces, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the Savana, a ſpacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made ſeveral attempts to repulſe the ferocious

16. Id ibid.

17. *Ulloa's Voyage*, vol. i.

invaders,

invaders, but without effect: the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; so that Morgan took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately pillaged it for some days[18].

But Morgan met at Panama with what he valued no less than his rich booty. A fair captive inflamed his savage heart with love; and, finding all his solicitations ineffectual, as neither his person nor character was calculated to inspire the object of his passion with favourable sentiments toward him, he resolved to second his assiduities with a seasonable mixture of force. "Stop, ruffian!" cried she, as she wildly sprung from his arms;—"stop! thinkest thou that thou canst ravish "from me mine honour, as thou hast wrested from me my "fortune and my liberty? No! be assured, that my soul shall "sooner be separated from this body:"—and she drew a poinard from her bosom, which she would have plunged into his heart, if he had not avoided the blow[19].

Enraged at such a return to his fondness, Morgan threw this virtuous beauty into a loathsome dungeon, and endeavoured to break her spirit by severities. But his followers becoming clamorous, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend,

18. Id. Ibid.

19. The Spanish ladies, however, as we learn from the freebooter Raveneau de Lussan, were not all possessed of the same inflexible virtue. The Buccaneers had been represented to them as devils, as cannibals, and beings who were destitute even of the human form. They accordingly trembled at the very name of those plunderers. But, on a nearer approach, they found them to be men, and some of them handsome fellows. And in this, as in all cases, where they have been abused by false representations of our sex, the women flew to the opposite extreme, as soon as they were undeceived; and clasped in their amorous arms the murderers of their husbands and brothers. Charmed with the ardour of a band of adventurers, whose every passion was in excess, they did not part, without tears of agony, from the warm embrace of their piratical paramours, to return into the cool paths of common life. *Voy. des Flibust.* chap. iv. v.

he was obliged to liſten to their importunities, and give up his amorous purſuit[20]. As a prelude to their return, the booty was divided; and Morgan's own ſhare, in the pillage of this expedition, is ſaid to have amounted to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterpriſe[21].

The defection of Morgan, and ſeveral other principal leaders, who ſought and found an aſylum in the boſom of that civil ſociety, whoſe laws they had ſo atrociouſly violated, together with the total ſeparation of the Engliſh and French Buccaneers, in conſequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688, broke the force of thoſe powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance with England, ſhe repreſſed the piracies of her ſubjects in the Weſt Indies. The French Buccaneers continued their depredations, and with no ſmall ſucceſs, till the peace of Ryſwick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjuſted, a ſtop was every where put to hoſtilities, and not only the aſſociation, but the very name of this extraordinary ſet of men ſoon became extinct. They were inſenſibly loſt among the other European inhabitants of the Weſt Indies.

A. D. 1690.

Before this period, however, the French colony in Hiſpaniola had arrived at a conſiderable degree of proſperity; and Jamaica, into which the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flouriſhing condition. The Buccaneers found at Port Royal better reception, and greater ſecurity, than any where elſe. They could there land their booty with the utmoſt facility, and ſpend in a variety of pleaſures the wealth ariſing from their piracy; and as prodigality and debauchery ſoon reduced them again to indigence, that grand incitement to their ſanguinary induſ-

20. *Hiſt. Buccaneers*, part iii. chap. v. vi.

21. After Morgan ſettled in Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleaſure and whim, Charles II.

try made them eagerly haſten to commit freſh depredations. Hence the ſettlement reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profuſion; by the vices which led to their want, and their abundance.

The wealth, which flowed into Jamaica through that channel, gave great activity to every branch of culture; and, after the piracies of the Buccaneers were ſuppreſſed, it proved a new ſource of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandeſtine trade to the Spaniſh ſettlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and ſecure, by the Aſſiento, or contract for ſupplying the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht. In conſequence of that contract, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, British factories were eſtabliſhed at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other important places in South America and the iſthmus of Mexico. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the ſtate and tranſactions of her colonies, occaſionally lifted by the Buccaneers, was now entirely removed. The agents of a rival nation, reſiding in her towns of moſt extenſive trade and ports of chief reſort, had the beſt opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of her American empire; of obſerving its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greateſt advantage. The merchants of Jamaica, and other Engliſh colonies that traded to the Spaniſh main, were accordingly enabled, by means of information ſo authentic and expeditious, to aſſort and proportion their cargoes with ſuch exactneſs to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vaſt amount, and with incredible profit [22].

A. D. 1713.

22. Anderſon's *Hiſt. of Commerce*, vol. ii. Robertſon's *Hiſt. of America*, book viii.

In order to put a ſtop to this trade, which, together with that carried on by the Britiſh South Sea Company, had almoſt ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ſhips of force, under the name of *Guarda-Coſtas*, were ſtationed upon the coaſts of thoſe provinces, to which interlopers moſt frequently reſorted. Such a precaution was certainly prudent, but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ſhips, commiſſioned to prevent that illicit traffic, had only ſeized upon the veſſels really concerned in it, neither the commanders, nor the government that appointed them, could juſtly have incurred any blame; but the abuſes inſeparable from violent meaſures, the eagerneſs of gain, and perhaps a ſpirit of revenge, incited the Spaniſh officers to ſtop, under various pretences, many veſſels that had a legal deſtination, and even to treat the ſeamen with the greateſt cruelty.

England, whoſe power and glory is founded on commerce, and who could not patiently ſuffer any reſtraint upon a branch of trade which cuſtom had made her conſider as lawful, was highly incenſed, when ſhe underſtood that thoſe reſtraints were converted into hoſtilities, and carried to an exceſs inconſiſtent with the laws of nations. The body of the people loudly called for vengeance, and the leading members in both houſes of parliament directed all the thunder of their eloquence againſt the miniſter, who could tamely ſee his country expoſed to ſuch indignities. But ſir Robert Walpole, who ſtill governed the councils of Great Britain, and who had an equal contempt for party rage and popular opinion, paid little regard to theſe violent invectives or ſeditious clamours. Strongly convinced of the importance of peace to a trading nation, he endeavoured to obtain, by negociation, ſatisfaction from the court of Madrid. The preliminaries of a convention were accordingly ſigned at Pardo, in the beginning of the year 1739. And although the terms of this treaty were neither ſo honourable nor advantageous to Great Britain as might have been wiſhed, they

A. D. 1739.

they were the beſt that could poſſibly be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreſeen by that miniſter.

The chief article of the convention provided, That the king of Spain ſhould pay to the ſubjects of Great Britain the ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds ſterling, by way of indemnification for their loſſes, in conſequence of the ſeizures made by the Guarda-Coſtas. This was, in effect, acknowledging the injuſtice of thoſe ſeizures; but as no proviſion was made againſt future violences, the grand queſtion, "Whether Britiſh veſſels, navigating the American ſeas, "ſhould be any where, or under any circumſtances, ſubject "to SEARCH?" being left to be diſcuſſed by a congreſs, the intereſts of the country were ſuppoſed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment. Petitions againſt the convention were ſent from all the principal trading towns in the kingdom, and the univerſal outcry was, "A free ſea, or a war!" Walpole found himſelf under the neceſſity of reſigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude; and the king of Spain, by neglecting to pay the ſtipulated ſum at the appointed day, furniſhed him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary, he affirmed, that the convention-treaty would have been attended with all the advantages that could be procured by the moſt ſucceſsful war[23]; and that future ages would do juſtice to the counſels that produced it.

Oct. 19.

But

23. It would at leaſt have been productive of more advantages than the war that enſued. And if it ſhould be ſaid, that it was impoſſible to foreſee the ſubſequent misfortunes, which aroſe from a variety of cauſes, it may at leaſt be added in reply, That the intereſt of a few merchants concerned in a contraband trade, however lucrative, was not a ſufficient object to engage two great nations in a war, the ſucceſs of which muſt be doubtful, and which, it was evident, muſt be proſecuted at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure. It was the unſubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hoſtilities: and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a ſet of ambitious

But although the pacific difpofition of fir Robert Walpole, and his intimate knowledge of the effential interefts of his country, made him averfe from war, he no fooner refolved upon hoftilities than the vigour of his meafures was as confpicuous as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock, was fent to cruize off the coaft of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who ftood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a fquadron in the Weft Indies. This gentleman had rendered himfelf confpicuous in the Houfe of Commons, by loudly condemning all the meafures of the minifter, and bluntly fpeaking his fentiments on every occafion. In a debate upon the Spanifh depredations, he declared that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with fix fhips. That offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in oppofition, and reverberated from every corner of the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the minifter, in order to gain their confidence, fent him to fulfil his boaft; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and draw difgrace on himfelf and his party.

The event, however, juftified the admiral's affertion. He failed from Jamaica with no more than fix fhips, and two hundred and forty foldiers on board. Yet fuch was the daftardlinefs of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the Britifh tars, who mounted the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto Bello was taken almoft without bloodfhed. Of that place fome account muft be given.

A. D. 1740.

The town of Porto Bello is difpofed in the form of a crefcent, on the declivity of a mountain, which embraces an excellent harbour. This harbour was well defended by forts, all which were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon,

tious men in both houfes of parliament, who affumed to themfelves the deluding name of patriots; but who, fince time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a defperate faction, ftruggling for the emoluments of office.

who

who immediately abandoned his conqueſt. It could only indeed be of importance to the maſters of Peru, as its opulence depended entirely upon its ſituation; and even that opulence could only induce an inconſiderable number of inhabitants conſtantly to reſide on a ſpot, ſo unhealthy, that it has been denominated the *Grave of the Spaniards.* But during the annual fair, which laſted forty days, Porto Bello was a theatre of the richeſt commerce that was ever tranſacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern ſide of the iſthmus which divides the two ſeas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, ſilver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of neceſſity, accommodation, and luxury. The ſickly and almoſt deſerted town was quickly filled with people; its port was crouded with ſhips; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules, laden with the precious metals. Inſtead of ſilence and ſolitude, nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets and ſquares but buſtling multitudes, bales of goods, and cheſts of treaſure [24].

But that rich commerce, as well as the contraband trade, has ſince been ruined, by the abolition of the galleons, and by ſubſtituting in their place regiſter-ſhips; which ſailing round Cape Horn, paſs immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a ſupply of European goods, and return to Europe with the treaſure by the ſame courſe. In conſequence of this new regulation, which took place in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto Bello has ſunk almoſt to nothing; and theſe two towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her moſt valuable colonies, now ſerve only as a paſſage for the negroes that are carried to Peru, and ſome other inconſiderable branches of decaying traffic [25].

24. Ulloa's *Voyage*, vol. i.

25. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Amer.* book viii.

The joy of the English nation on the taking of Porto Bello was excessive. The two houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms: the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West Indies.

This compliance with the wishes of the people, however, served only to render the popular members in the House of Commons more clamorous. They considered it as a partial victory, and resolved to push their advantage: they attempted the entire removal of the minister; and a motion was even made to that purpose. Piqued at this ungenerous return, as he considered it, to his condescensions, sir Robert Walpole concluded a masterly speech (in which he refuted every charge brought against him) with the following keen expressions, that strongly mark the character of those contentious and venal times. "Gentlemen," said he, "have "talked a great deal of *patriotism*; a venerable virtue, when "duly practised! But I am sorry to observe, that of late it "has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling "into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and "the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A "patriot! why patriots spring up like mushrooms: I could "raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I "have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing "to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up "starts a patriot.—I have long heard of this *patriotic* mo- "tion," added he; "and let gentlemen contradict me, if "they can, when I say I could have prevented it. By what "means, I leave the house to judge[26]!"

The reduction of Porto Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World. With this view, an English squadron was dispatched to the

26. *Parliamentary Debates*, 1740.

South

South Sea, under commodore Anſon, in order to ravage the coaſts of Peru and Chili; while a fleet of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, commanded by ſir Chaloner Ogle, beſide frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, ſtore-ſhips, victuallers, and tranſports, with upward of ten thouſand land forces on board, was ſent to the Weſt Indies, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anſon, by means of intelligence to be conveyed acroſs the iſthmus of Darien. The land-forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs: and the ardour of both ſoldiers and ſailors to come to action was exceſſive. This ardour drew from lord Cathcart the following words, in a letter to admiral Vernon. "In the troops I "bring you, there is ſpirit, there is good will; which, when "properly conducted, will produce, I hope, what the na- "tion expect from us—will make us the glorious inſtru- "ments of finiſhing the war, with all the advantages to the "public that its happy beginning promiſes; and with this "diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, that thoſe happy effects have "been owing to a perfect *harmony* between the *ſea* and *land-* "*forces*[27]."

The want of that harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart unfortunately died ſoon after his arrival in the Weſt Indies, the command of the land-forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, reſolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obſtinacy, and as great a contempt for the ſea, as the admiral had for the land-ſervice. Theſe two ill-aſſociated commanders, whoſe powers were diſcretionary, after being reinforced with ſome troops from the Engliſh colonies in North America, determined to attack Carthagena. A. D. 1641. March 9.

The city of Carthagena is ſeated on a peninſula, or ſandy

27. *Modern Univerſal Hiſt.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

iſland, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not above ſeventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houſes are moſtly of ſtone, and the ſtreets are broad, ſtraight, and well paved. It is ſuppoſed to contain about twenty-five thouſand inhabitants. Nature has placed at a little diſtance a hill of a middling height, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and, in ſome meaſure, the harbour, which is the ſafeſt in the American dominions of Spain, and one of the beſt any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a ſafe and excellent bottom [28]. At the time the trade of the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America was carried on by the galleons, thoſe ſhips ſailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return. Its trade has declined ſince their abolition; but the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan, and Choco, muſt ever make it a place of great importance.

In conſequence of the reſolution of the Engliſh commanders to attack this opulent and ſtrong city, a deſcent was made on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of the harbour, which is known by the name of Bocca Chica, or *Little-mouth*, from its narrowneſs, and which was fortified in a ſurpriſing manner with caſtles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ſhips of war. Several of the ſmaller caſtles were almoſt inſtantly reduced by ſir Chaloner Ogle, to whom that ſervice was committed; and batteries being erected againſt the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and Fort St. Joſeph were ſucceſſively taken by ſtorm. A breach was made in Caſtillo Grande, and the Britiſh troops, ſupported by the ſeamen, advanced to the aſſault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spaniſh ſhips, which lay acroſs the mouth of the harbour,

28, Ulloa, lib. i. cap. 3.

bour, were either taken or deſtroyed; the paſſage was opened; the fleet entered without farther oppoſition, and the troops were diſembarked within a mile of the city.

After ſurmounting ſo many difficulties, with ſuch facility, the beſiegers thought that little remained but to take poſſeſſion of Carthagena. A ſhip was accordingly ſent expreſs to London with intelligence to that effect; and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the Engliſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies. But the animoſities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth, diſappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the ſanguine expectations of thoſe concerned in the expedition. Each ſeemed more eager for the diſgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the neceſſity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Reſolutions, in a council of war, were taken for that purpoſe, but nothing was done in conſequence of them. A ſhameful inactivity, which might partly proceed from the climate, ſeems to have poſſeſſed the troops [29].

The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral, in not landing the tents, ſtores, and artillery. And it muſt be admitted that both were in fault. If Wentworth had attacked the citadel before the enemy had recovered from the panic, occaſioned by the reduction of the forts that defended the harbour, the Eng-

29. The heat is exceſſive and continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water that are inceſſantly pouring down, from May to November, have this ſingularity, that they never cool the air, which is ſometimes a little moderated during the dry ſeaſon, by the north-eaſt winds. The night is as hot as the day. Hence the inhabitants, waſted by profuſe perſpiration, have the pale and livid appearance of ſick perſons: all their motions are languid and ſluggiſh; their ſpeech is ſoft and ſlow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. Ulloa, *Voy.* lib. i. cap. v.

liſh would certainly have become maſters of the place; whereas the inaction of the land-forces, beſide the diſeaſes to which it expoſed them, gave the Spaniards time to recover their ſpirits, and to take every precaution for their defence. Nor was Vernon leſs remiſs in his duty, in not ſending his ſhips to batter and bombard the town by ſea; for it is beyond diſpute, notwithſtanding ſome ſurmiſes to the contrary, that great execution might have been done by ſuch a mode of attack. The largeſt ſhips could have lain near enough to have damaged the buildings without being expoſed to much harm; and the bombs would have been attended with great effect, as the houſes in that country are chiefly covered with ſhingles, or ſmall thin boards, inſtead of ſlate or tiles.

During theſe diſputes, the army was employed in erecting batteries, in order to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the heavy cannon not being yet arrived, nor the batteries near completed, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered ſo much ſtronger before the batteries could be opened, as to over-balance the advantage to be expected from them. This abſurd opinion, ſeconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an aſſault, after all rational proſpect of ſucceſs from ſuch a mode of attack had ceaſed, until a breach ſhould be made in the walls. So firm, however, was the courage of the Britiſh troops, that, if other inſtances of miſconduct had not accompanied that unſoldier-like attempt, there is reaſon to believe Carthagena would have been taken. The aſſault, inſtead of being made in the night, was delayed till morning; the ſoldiers were conducted, by miſtake, againſt the ſtrongeſt part of the citadel; the ſcaling ladders were found too ſhort; the woolpacks and granado-ſhells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy by battering the town by ſea, or even making uſe of his bomb-ketches [30]. In conſequence of theſe ſeveral blunders, and

30. *Univ. Hiſt.* ubi ſup. Smollett's *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. xi.

others

others connected with them, the brave assailants were exposed to the whole fire of the fort, and partly to that of the city, without the least power of defending themselves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage ensued; and although a retreat was soon judged necessary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, and six hundred of the flower of the English army, were left dead on the field.

The besiegers were so much discouraged by this unpropitious and ill-directed effort, that they gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place. And the rainy season set in with such violence, as rendered it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore reimbarked, and the enterprise was relinquished, after the admiral had made a feeble attempt to bombard the town, in order to convince the general of its impracticability; though that consequence was by no means the result of this impertinent experiment. On the contrary, it was affirmed, That the continuance of such a mode of attack, properly conducted, would have reduced the city to heaps of ruins; that a floating battery, which had been prepared, did not lie in the proper place for annoying the enemy; that the water was there indeed too shallow, to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success, but that a little toward the left, the harbour was sufficiently deep, and that four or five ships of the line might have been moored within pistol-shot of the walls [31].

After the reimbarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead! Nothing was seen, but objects of woe or images of dejection; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The

31. *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

fortifications of the harbour of Carthagena were accordingly demolifhed, and the Englifh fleet failed for Jaimaica, to the aftonifhment and confufion of the mother-country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depreffed, in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated; nor was any thing afterward done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprife, to retrieve the honour of the Britifh arms. Though Vernon was reinforced with feveral fhips of the line, and Wentworth with three thoufand foldiers from England; and although they fucceffively threatened St. Jago de Cuba, and Panama, they returned home, without effecting any thing of confequence, notwithftanding the lofs of near twenty thoufand men [32].

The expedition under Anfon was not more fortunate in the beginning; and, but for accident, it would have terminated in equal difgrace. Being attacked by a furious ftorm in paffing Cape Horn, two of his fhips were obliged to return in diftrefs; one was loft; another was fo much damaged as to be abandoned foon after; and the greater part of his people died of the fea-fcurvy, before he reached the ifland of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In this delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and fpirits; and the Centurion, his own fhip, being ftill in pretty good repair, he foon put to fea, took feveral prizes off the coaft of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, on the coaft of Peru, where he found a booty of filver to the amount of about thirty thoufand pounds fterling. From his prifoners he learned, that, notwithftanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in thofe latitudes; as Don Jofeph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanifh fquadron deftined to oppofe him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having loft two fhips and two thoufand men, in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But that confolatory intelligence was balanced by infor-

32. Smollett's *Hift. Eng.* vol. xi. *Univ. Hift.* ubi fup.

mation

mation of a lefs agreeable kind. Anfon alfo learned, from fome papers found on board his prizes, that the Englifh expedition againft Carthagena had mifcarried. This difcouraging news made him fenfible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his inftructions, which regarded an attack upon Panama, in confequence of a fuppofed co-operation with the Britifh troops, acrofs the ifthmus of Darien. He therefore bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he underftood was then at fea. Happily for the Spaniards, fhe had reached that port before his arrival.. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but without effect. At laft finding himfelf deftitute of every neceffary, he failed for the river Canton, in China, where he arrived, after a long and diftreffing voyage. Having refitted his fhip, and taken in a fupply of provifions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and after cruifing there fome time, he fortunately met with and took the annual fhip from Acapulco, on the coaft of Mexico, to Manilla, in the ifland of Luconia, laden with treafure, to the amount of about three hundred thoufand pounds fterling, befide other valuable commodities [33].

A. D. 1742.

A. D. 1743.

Anfon went a fecond time to Canton, where he afferted the honour of the Britifh flag in a very fpirited manner, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope in 1744, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had heard of his difafters, and concluded that he all his crew were loft. The Spanifh treafure was carried to the Tower with much parade; and an expedition, which, all things confidered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond meafure. Anfon's perfeverance, however, deferved praife, and the fuccefs of a fingle fhip

A. D. 1744.

33. *Anfon's Voyage*, by Walter. The treafure confifted of one million three hundred and thirteen thoufand eight hundred and forty dollars or pefos, with uncoined filver equal in value to forty three thoufand fix hundred and eleven dollars.

feemed

ſeemed to point out what might be performed by a ſtout ſquadron on the coaſts of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterpriſe againſt Carthagena was ſtill ſo freſh in the memory of the nation, that no farther attempt was made during the war to diſtreſs the Spaniſh ſettlements in America.

I ſhall here, my dear Philip, cloſe this letter; as the naval tranſactions in the European ſeas, though ſeemingly connected with the ſubject, will enter with more propriety into the general narration. The war, occaſioned by the death of the emperor Charles VI. muſt now engage our attention.

LETTER XXVIII.

The general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *from the Death of the Emperor* CHARLES VI. *in* 1740, *to the Treaty of* DRESDEN, *in* 1745, *and the confirmation of the Treaty of* BRESLAW.

THE death of the emperor Charles VI. the laſt prince of the ancient houſe of Auſtria, without male iſſue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjuſting of whoſe pretenſions threw all Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the ſucceſſion to the whole Auſtrian dominions belonged to the archducheſs Maria-Thereſa, the late emperor's eldeſt daughter, married to Francis of Lorrain, grand-duke of Tuſcany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Auſtrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Foreſt Towns, Burgaw, Briſgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia, formed that immenſe inheritance.

A. D. 1740.

Almoſt all the European powers had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; but, as prince Eugene judiciouſly remarked, "an

"an hundred thousand men would have guarantied it better "than an hundred thousand treaties!" Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in virtue of the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. The Catholic king deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. wife to Philip II. of Spain, from whom he was descended by females; and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan. The king of France had also his pretensions, and to the whole disputed succession, as being descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses, married to his ancestors, Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. But, conscious that such a claim would excite the jealousy of all Europe, he did not appear as a competitor; though he was not without hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by abetting the claims of another.

In the meantime Maria-Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance, which was secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, in voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns; by which the subjects, should their privileges be invaded, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels.

Nov. 7.

As

As the anceſtors of this princeſs had ever been backward in complying with ſuch engagements, the early taking of that prudent ſtep was attended with wonderful popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years ſpent in ſeditious broils and civil wars, ſtill bore with impatience the Auſtrian yoke, ſubmitted with pleaſure to the government of Maria-Thereſa, whom they almoſt adored, and who was worthy of their warmeſt regard. Her firſt care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her huſband a ſhare in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent: and ſhe flattered herſelf, that the conſequence, thus conferred upon the grand duke, would ſoon raiſe him to the imperial throne [1]. But ſhe had forgot that ſhe was deſtitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, were riſing up againſt her; and that her troops, though far from inconſiderable, were diſperſed over her extenſive dominions.

The firſt alarm was given by a formidable, but unexpected pretender. Frederic III. king of Pruſſia, had lately ſucceeded his father, Frederic William, a wiſe and politic prince, who had, by rigid œconomy, amaſſed a prodigious treaſure, though he maintained, for his own ſecurity, an army of ſixty thouſand men, which he prudently left his ſon to employ [2]. "If we may be ſaid to owe the ſhade of the oak," obſerves the Royal Hiſtorian, "to the acorn from which it ſprung, in "like manner we may diſcern, in the ſagacious conduct of "Frederic William, the ſource of the future greatneſs of his "ſucceſſor [3]."

This ambitious, enlightened, and enterpriſing monarch, whoſe character I ſhall afterward have occaſion to develope in deſcribing his heroic achievements, and in tracing his extenſive plans of policy, revived certain antiquated claims of his family to four duchies in Sileſia; and, inſtead of having recourſe to unmeaning mani-

A. D. 1741.

1. Voltaire. Millot. 2. *Mem. de Brandenbourg*, tom. ii. 3. Id. ibid.

feſtos,

feſtos, he began his march at the head of thirty thouſand choice troops, in order to eſtabliſh his right. When he found himſelf in the heart of that rich province, and in poſſeſſion of Breſlaw, its capital, he ſhewed a diſpoſition to negociate. He offered to ſupply Maria-Thereſa, then commonly known by the name of Queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmoſt of his power, the reſt of her dominions in Germany, and to uſe all his intereſt to place her huſband on the imperial throne, provided ſhe would cede to him the Lower Sileſia.

That would have been a ſmall ſacrifice for peace and ſecurity. But the queen of Hungary was ſenſible, that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, ſhe ſhould only encourage thoſe of others. She therefore rejected, perhaps too haſtily, the offers of the king of Pruſſia, and ſent count Neuperg, one of her beſt generals, with a ſtrong body of troops into Sileſia, in order to expel the invaders. The two armies, nearly equal in numbers, met at Molwitz, a village in the neighbourhood of the town of Neiſs, and within a league of the river of the ſame name. There a deſperate battle was fought. The action laſted from two in the afternoon till ſix in the evening; when the Auſtrians, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts, were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiſs, with the loſs of four thouſand men.

This victory, which was followed, though not immediately, with the reduction of Glatz and Neiſs, and the ſubmiſſion of the whole province of Sileſia, was acquired ſolely by the firmneſs of the Pruſſian infantry, and their celerity in firing, in conſequence of a new exerciſe taught them by their young king. The cavalry were totally routed, by the ſuperiority of the Auſtrians in horſe; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himſelf, in danger of being made priſoner, was carried off the field, in the more early part of the engagement. But the ſecond line of infantry ſtood immoveable;

able; and by the admirable discipline of that body, the battle was restored[4].

The success of the king of Prussia astonished all Europe; and the refusal of Maria-Theresa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness:—so apt are mankind to judge of measures by events, and to connect wisdom with good fortune, and folly with disaster!—But, even at this distance of time, when a more impartial judgment may be formed, if the queen of Hungary's resolution was again to be taken, it would be difficult for political sagacity to direct her which alternative to chuse. What might have been the consequence of her compliance with the king of Prussia's proposals, it is impossible to say; but we know that her intrepidity of spirit in resolving, at all hazards, to preserve undivided the Austrian succession, exalted her in the esteem of her most natural and powerful allies, who ultimately secured to her the greater part of that succession. It must, however, be admitted, That the successful invasion of the king of Prussia, the unforeseen consequence of her refusal, and an assurance of the support of so powerful a prince, encouraged the court of Versailles in the ambitious project of placing the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne. The rise of this project deserves to be traced.

France had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. and cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of preserving inviolate the engagements of his master. But no sooner was it known at Versailles that the king of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the cardinal found himself unable to withstand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increased by the battle of Molwitz, and the failure of the English in their attempt upon Spanish America. Assured

4. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis* XV. chap. v.

of the aſſiſtance of Spain, which turned a wiſhful eye on the Italian poſſeſſions of the queen of Hungary, the young nobility and princes of the blood, eager for an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in arms, repreſented to the king, That the period ſo long deſired was now arrived, of finally breaking the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; by diſmembering the dominions of Maria-Thereſa, and placing on the imperial throne Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, a ſtipendary of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

The moderation and natural equity of Lewis XV. yielded to arguments ſo flattering to his pride; and to the count, afterward mareſchal and duke de Belleiſle, and his brother the chevalier, the chief inſpirers of theſe violent councils, was committed the execution of that ambitious project. They propoſed, that fifty thouſand French troops, of which twenty thouſand were to be cavalry, ſhould paſs the Rhine, and advance toward the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army, of about forty thouſand men, ſhould be formed on the ſide of Weſtphalia, in order to keep in awe the electorate of Hanover; and that proper application ſhould be made to the moſt conſiderable princes of the empire, correſponding to their ſeveral ſituations, inviting them to concur in the deſtruction of the houſe of Auſtria, and to ſhare in its ſpoils. A moment was not loſt in carrying this plan into execution.

Meanwhile the count de Belleiſle, being diſpatched into Germany, in the double capacity of ambaſſador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg. By this treaty the king of France engaged to aſſiſt that prince with his whole force, in order to raiſe him to the imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promiſed, That, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which the French ſhould have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that

France might retain irrevocably whatever places ſhould be ſubdued by her arms in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The count de Belleiſle alſo negociated a treaty between Lewis XV. and Frederic III. king of Pruſſia; in which it was ſtipulated, That the elector of Bavaria, together with the imperial crown, ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the county of Tirol; that Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs and the county of Glatz.

Theſe treaties were no ſooner concluded, than the French forces were put in motion; and Lewis XV. appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio to act under him. He at the ſame time iſſued a declaration, ſetting forth, That the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a threatening poſture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, was reſolved, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to march ſome troops toward the Rhine, in order to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to aſſiſt thoſe princes who might call upon him for the execution of his engagements.

The fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe; yet it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great Britain, alarmed for the ſafety of his German dominions, and finding, after a tedious and fruitleſs negociation, that he could not depend upon the ſupport of the Dutch, who were timid and backward, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover; in conſequence of which, not only the troops of that

Sept. 16.

electorate, but the auxiliary Danes and Heſſians, in Britiſh pay, who had been commanded to march to the aſſiſtance of Maria Thereſa, were ordered to remain in their reſpective countries; and the embarkation of a body of Britiſh troops, collected for the ſame purpoſe, was countermanded.

manded A ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds, granted by the Britiſh parliament, was however tranſmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply, in the midſt of her multiplied neceſſities [5].

In the mean time the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under mareſchal Broglio, ſurpriſed the imperial city of Paſſau, upon the Danube; and entering Upper Auſtria, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of Lintz, the capital of that duchy, where he received the homage of the ſtates. From Lintz, ſeveral detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna; which being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble reſiſtance againſt the victorious enemy. And many of thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, conſidered that city as already loſt. The inhabitants took the alarm, and removed to places of greater ſafety their moſt valuable effects. The Danube was daily ſeen covered with boats, for this purpoſe; great part of the ſuburbs was pulled down; and a ſummons was ſent to Kevenhuller, the governor, to ſurrender the place.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archducheſs, committing her deſperate affairs to the care of her huſband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Preſburg in Hungary; where having aſſembled the ſtates of that kingdom, ſhe appeared before them with her eldeſt ſon, yet an infant in her arms, and addreſſed them in a ſpeech to the following purport. "Abandoned by my friends, perſecuted by my "enemies, and attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no re-"ſource left but in your fidelity and valour. On you alone "I depend for relief; and into your hands I commit, with "confidence, the ſon of your ſovereign, and my juſt cauſe." At once filled with rage and compaſſion at theſe affecting expreſſions of confidence, by ſo flattering an appeal to their

5. Smollett.

loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princefs, in diftrefs, the Palatines drew their fabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthufiafm, "We will die for "our KING[6], Maria Therefa!" Nor was this a momentary ftart of paffion. While with tears they fwore to defend her, they publifhed a manifefto againft the elector of Bavaria; and by a folemn act of ftate, they gave a perpetual exclufion of him and his pofterity from the throne of Hungary.

The Hungarian nobility were inftantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of *Father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thoufand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrifon of twelve thoufand: count Nuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thoufand: the grand-duke and his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, who was the delight of the Auftrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, and other general officers, were exerting themfelves to the utmoft in raifing troops for the fervice of their miftrefs.

These powerful armies, the declining feafon, and the ftrength of the garrifon of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ideas. Inftead of invefting that capital, he marched into Bohemia; and being there joined by twenty thoufand Saxons, he laid fiege to Prague. The place was ftormed, and taken by the gallantry of the famous count Saxe, natural fon of Auguftus II. of Poland, who had already entered into the French fervice, and exhibited, on this occafion, a remarkable inftance of his generofity and humanity. He not only faved the town from pillage, but the perfons of the inhabitants from any violence or infult. And the elector of Bavaria, having been crowned king of Bohemia at
A. D. 1742. Jan. 4. Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII. and invefted with the imperial enfigns.

6. So the Hungarians always call their fovereign, of whatever fex.

The

The mareſchal de Belleiſle, who made a ſplendid figure at this inauguration, ſeemed now in a fair way to complete his whole undertaking; more eſpecially as he had found means to engage Sweden in a war with Ruſſia, in order to prevent the empreſs Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, from aiding her ſiſter ſovereign. But events ſuddenly took a new direction in Germany, as we ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſee. In the mean time we muſt turn our attention toward the affairs of England; obſerving, in making this tranſition, that the war between Sweden and Ruſſia was diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event, and ſoon terminated in an equitable peace.

The intimate connexion between England and the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the Revolution in 1688, cemented by the blood ſpilt during two long and deſolating wars, in which the ſubjects of the two powers had greatly ſignaliſed themſelves, by oppoſing the ambition of Lewis XIV. made the people conſider this connexion, and not altogether without reaſon, as eſſential to the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, againſt the dangerous uſurpations of the houſe of Bourbon. The Engliſh nation, therefore, warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the queen of Hungary; and no ſooner was it known that France, in violation of the Pragmatic Sanction, had formed the project of diſmembering the ſucceſſion of Charles VI. and placing a creature of her own upon the imperial throne, than the cry for war was loud, and for fulfilling to the utmoſt the treaties with the late emperor. The miſcarriages in the Weſt Indies were forgot; the increaſe of taxes, which had lately occaſioned ſo much clamour, was diſregarded; and liberal ſubſcriptions were opened, by private individuals, for the ſupport of Maria-Thereſa.

George II. who ſeemed only to value the Britiſh crown as it augmented his conſequence in Germany, was ſufficiently diſpoſed to enter into theſe views; and although the imminent danger, to which his electoral dominions were expoſed,

F 2 induced

induced him to ſubmit to a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, that treaty did not affect him in his regal capacity. As king of Great Britain, he might ſtill aſſiſt the queen of Hungary; he might even, it was ſaid, hire his electoral troops to fight the battles of Maria-Thereſa. Of this he ſeemed convinced. But the leading members of the oppoſition in parliament had declaimed ſo long, and ſo eloquently, againſt continental connexions, that a change in his miniſtry was judged neceſſary, before any effectual ſtep could be taken.

Sir Robert Walpole, whoſe credit had been for ſome time on the decline, finding he could no longer ſerve his maſter to advantage, or ſecure a reſpectable majority in the houſe of commons, reſigned his employments, and was created earl of Orford. Mr. Sandys, a ſturdy patriot, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his perſeverance in oppoſing the meaſures of the late miniſter, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of his political antagoniſt; the earl of Wilmington was placed at the head of the treaſury; lord Carteret, the Cicero of the houſe of lords, was made ſecretary of ſtate; and the eloquent and patriotic Mr. Pulteney, the moſt popular man in the kingdom, was reſtored to the dignity of a privy counſellor, and ſoon after created earl of Bath. Other changes of leſs conſequence took place.

From the new miniſtry the moſt popular meaſures were expected: nothing leſs was preſumed on than a total renovation of the conſtitution. A number of motions to this purport was accordingly made in both houſes of parliament; but, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, they were all violently oppoſed, and quaſhed, by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whoſe former ſpeeches had ſuggeſted many of them. The moſt important of theſe motions were the following three: one for appointing a committee "to enquire into the conduct of affairs during the laſt twenty years:" one for bringing in a bill "to repeal the act for Septennial Parliaments;" and one for "excluding Penſioners from the

" House of Lords," by an act of the whole legislature. In this ministerial opposition, Mr. Pulteney, immediately before he was created earl of Bath, and Mr. Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, particularly distinguished themselves in the House of Commons, as did lord Carteret in the House of Peers [7].

The eyes of the people were now opened; and they discovered, That the men whom they had been accustomed to consider as incorruptible patriots, and who had so long distracted the councils of the nation with their thundering orations, were only the heads of an ambitious faction struggling for power, and ready, when gratified with a share in the honours and offices of the state, to espouse measures, and adopt maxims, which they had formerly reprobated, as big with ruin and disgrace. This political apostacy was no less observable in their conduct with respect to foreign than domestic affairs. Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, had been the constant objects of their indignation, while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, the new ministry extended their complaisance to their sovereign in all these particulars, much farther than their execrated predecessors. Beside providing for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary: they augmented the land forces to sixty-two thousand five hundred men: they transported into the Low Countries sixteen thousand British troops, under the earl of Stair, to make a diversion in favour of Maria-Theresa, even before they were assured of the concurrence of Holland; and they ordered those troops to be joined by six thousand Hessians, and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay. This army, however, after much idle parade, went into winter-quarters, without performing any thing of consequence; the earl of

7. *Parl. Debates*, 1742.

Stair being employed during the greater part of the ſummer in fruitleſs negociations with the Dutch, in order to induce them to fulfil their engagements with the late emperor[8]. The campaign was more active in Germany.

The good fortune of the elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the imperial throne. The very day that he was elected emperor, under the pompous name of Charles VII. he received an account of the loſs of Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria, though defended by a garriſon of ten thouſand French troops. Kevenhuller, the Auſtrian general, who had performed this important ſervice, having diſlodged the French from all the ſtrong holds of that country, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions; defeated mareſchal Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich, the capital of Bavaria. In the mean time prince Lobkowitz, with eleven thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, was appointed to obſerve the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of thirty thouſand infantry, and eighteen thouſand cavalry, advanced againſt the Pruſſians and Saxons, who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation, on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken.

The retreat of the Pruſſians and Saxons was conſidered as an event of great importance by the Auſtrians, as it ſeemed to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under Belleiſle and Broglio, who were too ſtrong for prince Lobkowitz ſingly. But the active and enterpriſing king of Pruſſia, having received a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, marched to the aſſiſtance of his allies in Bohemia. By his expedition and generalſhip, he arrived before the intended junction could be formed; and, in order to prevent it, he gave battle to prince Charles of Lorrain at Czaſlaw. The diſciplined troops on both ſides were nearly equal; but the

8. Smollett.

Auſtrians

Auſtrians had the advantage of a large body of barbarous irregulars, Croats, Pandours, Talpaches, who engaged with incredible fury [9]. The Pruſſians were broken: the king left the field; and a total defeat muſt have enſued, had not the luſt of plunder ſeized the Auſtrian irregulars at the ſight of the Pruſſian baggage. Their example infected the regulars of the Auſtrian right wing, who alſo gave over the purſuit. The Pruſſian infantry ſeized this opportunity to rally: they returned to the charge; and, after an obſtinate diſpute, broke the main body of the Auſtrian army, and obliged prince Charles to retire with the loſs of five thouſand men.

The king of Pruſſia, whoſe loſs was little inferior to that of the Auſtrians, ſick of ſuch bloody victories, and having ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of the court of France, began to turn his thoughts towards peace; and no leſs politic than brave, he concluded at Breſlaw, without conſulting his allies, an advantageous treaty with the June 11. queen of Hungary. By this treaty the archducheſs, Maria-Thereſa, ceded to Frederic III. the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within ſixteen days after the ſigning of the articles. A treaty of peace was alſo concluded, nearly at the ſame time, between the queen of Hungary and Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; by which ſhe yielded to him certain places in the circles of Elbogen, Saltzer, Leutmeritz, and Buntzlaw in Bohemia. And he guaranteed to her the poſſeſſion of the reſt of that kingdom [10].

Upon the court of France, like a clap of thunder, came

9. The *Croats* are the militia of Croatia. The *Pandours* are Sclavonians, who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save: they wear a long cloak, carry ſeveral piſtols in their girdle, and uſe beſide a ſabre and poinard. The *Talpaches* are a ſort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a muſket, two piſtols, and a ſword.

10. Millot. Voltaire. Smollett.

the intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw: and the news which followed it did not contribute to alleviate the consternation occasioned by that blow. The mareschals Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves, in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the windings of the river Moldaw; while the prince of Lorrain, having formed a junction with the Austrian army under Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Grisnitz.

Finding themselves surrounded by superior forces, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia, provided they were permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage. This proposal, though highly reasonable, was haughtily rejected by the queen of Hungary, who insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. Belleisle, who had assumed the command in Prague, treated the imperious demand with disdain; assuring his master, that he apprehended nothing from the enemy but famine. And the Austrian generals, though less skilful than brave, made him sensible that their approaches were not to be slighted. By cutting off his supplies, they reduced him to the greatest necessities, while they wasted and harrassed his troops by perpetual assaults.

To permit the surrender of so fine an army, was deemed inconsistent with the honour and glory of the French nation, as well as with its interest. Mareschal Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, had therefore orders to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty-two thousand men. When he arrived at Amberg, in the circle of Westphalia, he was joined by thirty thousand French and Imperialists from Bavaria, under Seckendorff and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without resistance. Apprised of his danger, the prince of Lorrain turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, the care of

of which he committed to general Feſtitz, with eighteen thouſand men, and advanced with the main body of his army toward the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppoſe Maillebois. At Hayd he was joined by the grand Auſtrian army under Kevenhuller, who had followed count Saxe and Seckendorff from Bavaria. Meanwhile the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio had formed the deſign of joining the French army under Maillebois; and Feſtitz being too weak to oppoſe them, they broke out of Prague, and marched to Leutmeritz. Maillebois was then in the neighbourhood of Egra; ſo that a junction ſeemed by no means impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking poſſeſſion of the paſſes in the interpoſing mountains, utterly defeated their ſcheme. Maillebois was under the neceſſity of returning to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and harraſſed on his march, by the prince of Lorrain; while prince Lobkowitz, with a ſtrong detachment, obliged Belleiſle and Broglio again to ſeek refuge in the capital of Bohemia. Oct. 7.

Soon after the ſiege of this important place was reſumed, Broglio made his eſcape in diſguiſe, and took upon him the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled; ſo that the fate of Prague, toward which the eyes of all Europe were now turned, reſted ſolely on the courage and conduct of Belleiſle and the ſmall remains of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All proſpect of relief was cut off: a retreat ſeemed impracticable; and famine, accompanied with diſeaſe, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havock among the French troops. The intrepid ſpirit of Belleiſle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itſelf to both his officers and ſoldiers; and few days paſſed without ſallies, in which the French had generally the advantage.

Theſe ſallies being chiefly occaſioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Auſtrian magazines in the neighbourhood of Prague, prince Lobkowitz, who conducted the blockade of that city, ordered them to be guarded by the

flower

flower of his army, in hopes that famine would ſoon compel the enemy to ſurrender at diſcretion. Now it was that Belle-iſle made known the reſources of his genius. Having ſecretly formed the deſign of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and ſent troops of them out every day to forage. A laſt, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and got a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuſe the enemy, he left a ſmall garriſon in that city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with ſnow, the cold exceſſively intenſe; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thouſand infantry and eight thouſand cavalry, hung on his rear.* Under all theſe diſadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. And with ſo much judgment had he planned his route, that, although the Auſtrians occupied all the paſſes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progreſs, by ſtriking through frozen marſhes, which had never perhaps before been trod by the foot of man; he himſelf always pointing the way, though confined to his coach or ſedan by a violent rheumatiſm. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was ſtill in the hands of the French, and entered Alſace without the loſs of a ſingle man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thouſand in conſequence of the rigour of the ſeaſon [11].

We muſt now turn our attention toward Italy, where the war raged, during this campaign, with no leſs violence than in Germany.

I have already had occaſion to obſerve, That on the death of the emperor Charles VI. the king of Spain put in a claim

11. Ibid.

to the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion, and that the king of Sardinia revived one to the duchy of Milan. Both afterward thought proper to moderate their pretenſions. The Spaniſh monarch ſeemed diſpoſed to be ſatisfied with the Auſtrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Don Philip, his ſecond ſon by the princeſs of Parma; and his Sardinian majeſty, alarmed by the encroachments of the houſe of Bourbon, entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great Britain, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy, and the ceſſion of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without abſolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. All the other Italian powers affected, from fear, to remain neutral; ſo that, when a body of Spaniſh troops, under the duke de Montemar, were landed on the coaſt of Tuſcany, toward the end of the year 1741, the Grand Duke, huſband to the queen of Hungary, whoſe territories they came to invade, permitted them to paſs through his dominions. The Genoeſe ſhewed no leſs complaiſance to another body of Spaniſh troops: the Venetians iſſued a declaration to the ſame purpoſe; and the pope, as the common father of Chriſtendom, wiſely permitted both parties to take refuge alternately in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and treated both with equal cordiality. Don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies, alſo declared himſelf neutral, though reſolved to abet the claims of his family to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. But the appearance of an Engliſh ſquadron before his capital, which could ſoon have been laid in aſhes, obliged him to ſubmit, for a time, to a real neutrality as unnatural as that of the Grand Duke.

This tranſaction, and others connected with it, were attended with circumſtances ſufficiently intereſting to merit a particular detail; more eſpecially as they lead us into the line of the naval operations of Great Britain in Europe.

Admiral Haddock had cruiſed in the Mediterranean, with a ſtrong fleet, ever ſince the breaking out of the war with Spain;

Spain; and ſir John Norris had repeatedly threatened the coaſts of that kingdom, with a powerful armament, without performing any thing of conſequence. At length admiral Haddock ſeemed to have an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf and effectually ſerving his country. As he lay at Gibraltar, with fourteen ſtout ſhips, he was informed, that a Spaniſh fleet of twelve ſail of the line, commanded by don Joſeph Navarro, with two hundred tranſports, and fifteen thouſand land forces on board, under the duke de Montemar, had paſſed the Straits in the night. He immediately ſtood to ſea. He came up with the enemy, and was preparing to engage, when a French ſquadron, from Toulon, ſtood in between the hoſtile fleets with a flag of truce; and the commander ſent a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, That the French and Spaniards being engaged in a joint expedition, he was under the neceſſity of acting in concert with his maſter's allies. This unexpected interpoſition prevented an engagement, and the Spaniſh admiral proceeded with his convoy[12].

Worn out with years, and chagrined by repeated diſappointments, Haddock reſigned the command of the Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean to rear-admiral Leſtock, who was ſoon joined by ſeven ſhips of the line, under vice-admiral Matthews, a brave and able officer. Beſide being appointed commander in chief on that ſtation, Matthews was veſted with full powers to treat with all the princes and ſtates of Italy, as his Britannic majeſty's miniſter. In this double capacity, he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by ſea and land; and underſtanding that a body of the troops of the king of the Two Sicilies had, notwithſtanding his pretended neutrality, joined the Spaniſh army, under the duke de Montemar, he ſent commodore Martin with an Engliſh ſquadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unleſs the king would withdraw his troops, and ſign a promiſe,

12. Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. viii. Smollett, vol. xi.

that

that they ſhould not act in conjunction with Spain during the continuance of the war. The inhabitants of Naples were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, at this unexpected viſit; and the king, being ſenſible that his capital, naturally much expoſed by its aſcending ſituation, was not in a ſtate of defence, thought proper to comply with the conditions. He at firſt called an extraordinary council, which held ſeveral conſultations, without coming to any fixed reſolution. At length the Britiſh commodore, who had dropped anchor before the town at four in the afternoon, by a noble boldneſs put an end to farther heſitation. On receiving an ambiguous anſwer, he pulled out his watch, and fixing it to the main-maſt, ſternly replied, That the council muſt come to a final determination within an hour, otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to execute his orders, which were abſolute. The king's promiſe of neutrality was immediately ſent, and the Engliſh fleet left the bay before midnight.[13] Hiſtory affords few inſtances of ſuch deciſion and diſpatch in affairs of equal importance.

As a prelude to the ſigning of this forced neutrality, which totally diſconcerted the ſchemes of the court of Madrid, the Spaniſh army, under the duke de Montemar, had been obliged to retreat toward the frontiers of Naples, before the king of Sardinia, and count Traun, the Auſtrian general. Meanwhile, Don Philip, third ſon of his Catholic majeſty, and for whoſe aggrandiſement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with another Spaniſh army, which he had led through France, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of that whole duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, and anxious for the ſafety of his more valuable dominions, the king of Sardinia returned with his forces to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards in vain attempted to enter. And count Traun found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, after the king of the Two Sicilies had withdrawn his troops, to maintain his ground,

13. Ibid.

during the remainder of the campaign, againſt the Spaniſh army under the count de Gages, who was ſent to ſuperſede the duke de Montemar[14].

The Spaniards, in a word, had little reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs in Italy; where their armies were reduced to great diſtreſs, by the vigilance of the Britiſh fleet in cutting off their ſupplies. The queen of Hungary, now all victorious in Germany, was in poſſeſſion of the territories of the emperor Charles VII. ſo that the French, heartily tired of ſupporting that prince, in whoſe cauſe they had loſt above an hundred thouſand men, made at laſt propoſals of peace on equitable, or rather humiliating terms. This condeſcenſion was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Verſailles were no longer influenced by the mild ſpirit of cardinal Fleury. He had died, at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the preſent year.

A. D. 1743.

But Maria-Thereſa, elated with her unexpected ſucceſs, and rendered confident by the ſupport of ſo powerful an ally as the king of Great Britain, haughtily rejected all pacific propoſitions; while lord Carteret, the new prime miniſter of George II. who had formerly declaimed with ſo much violence againſt continental connexions, could now ſee nothing but triumphs to be acquired in Flanders, though the Dutch had not yet engaged to take part in the war. He therefore urged the neceſſity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. In vain did the popular party in parliament reply, That this balance was no longer in danger; that the queen of Hungary herſelf was now ſufficiently ſtrong to protect all her dominions; that ſhe had only to reſtore peace to Germany, in order to be enabled to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and that England, inſtead of rouſing the jealouſy of other ſtates, by laviſhing its blood and treaſure in feeding the pride of an ambitious woman, ought to direct all its force againſt Spain, the only power with whom it was

14. Millot. Voltaire.

actually at war, and in whose humiliation it was particularly interested[15]. These arguments were not attended to. The king of Great Britain was fired with the thirst of military glory; and the king of France, finding that peace could not be obtained for the emperor, made preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour.

In the meantime the queen of Hungary's good fortune continued to attend her. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Bavaria, defeated the Imperialists with great slaughter near Braunaw, and took possession of their camp; while prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate. These two generals afterward obliged mareschal Broglio to abandon a strong camp which he occupied at Pladling, on the Danube, and to retire with hurry and precipitation toward the Rhine; the Austrian irregulars harrassing him on his march, and cutting off great numbers of his troops. When he reached Donawert, he was joined by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men under count Saxe: yet he did not think proper to hazard an engagement, his main body being almost ruined. He retreated before prince Charles to Hailbron; and the emperor, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and stript of his dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity[16].

The operations on the side of Flanders, during this campaign, were still more important, though less decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the earl of Stair, and the Austrians, under the duke d'Aremberg, having begun their march from the Low Countries, with an intention of entering Germany as early as the beginning of March, the king of France ordered the duke de Noailles to assemble a powerful army on the Maine, to prevent the allies from joining the prince of Lorrain; while he sent another

15. *Parl. Debates*, 1743. 16. Millot. Voltaire.

army under the mareſchal de Coigny into Alſace, in order to oppoſe that prince, ſhould he attempt to paſs the Rhine. Having ſecured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles paſſed the Rhine, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river, above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced toward him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the foreſt of D'Armſtadt. From this ſituation he moved to Aſchaffenburg, with a view of ſecuring the navigation of the Upper Maine, which was neceſſary for the conveyance of forage and proviſions from Franconia. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the enemy; Noailles, who was poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, having already got poſſeſſion of the principal poſts, ſo as to cut off all ſupplies [17].

The king of Great Britain, attended by his ſecond ſon the duke of Cumberland, and his miniſter lord Carteret, arrived on the 19th of June in the camp of the allies at Aſchaffenburg; where he found his army, amounting to about forty thouſand men, eager for battle, but in great want of proviſions. The French general, in a word, had taken his meaſures ſo wiſely, that it was thought the allies muſt be forced to ſurrender priſoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. A retreat, however, was reſolved upon, both as neceſſary to procure ſubſiſtence, and to form a junction with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians that had reached Hanau, and was in danger of being cut off.

June 26. The troops were accordingly ordered to ſtrike their tents, and to begin their march by break of day. Their dangerous route lay between a mountain and the river Maine, over which the French had been unaccountably permitted to erect ſeveral bridges. The allies were annoyed in their march, by the enemy's cannon on the oppoſite banks; and the French general, marching part of the main body of his army, which conſiſted of about ſixty thouſand men, over

17. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

the bridges, took poſſeſſion of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allied army; while in their rear a detachment occupied Aſchaffenburg, which they had abandoned.

Having made theſe diſpoſitions, which he flattered himſelf would oblige the allies to attack the French under great diſadvantage, the duke de Noailles repaſſed the Maine, in order the better to obſerve the motions of the hoſtile armies, and to bring forward the remainder of his forces. Meanwhile the duke de Grammont, his nephew and lieutenant-general, who was ſtationed at Dettingen with thirty thouſand choice troops, and all the young generals and princes of the blood, eager to engage, paſſed the defile behind which they were poſted, and advanced into a ſmall plain, called the Cock-field, where the allies had formed themſelves in order of battle. Noailles, who was ſtill on the other ſide of the river, beheld this motion with grief and aſtoniſhment, and made all the haſte poſſible to form a new diſpoſition. But he came too late to repair the miſtake that had been committed; for although the French charged with great impetuoſity, and the houſehold troops put the Auſtrian cavalry into diſorder, the Britiſh and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign (who rode between the lines with his ſword drawn), ſtood firm as a rock, and poured forth an inceſſant fire, which nothing could reſiſt. Theſe impenetrable battalions, however, by a maſterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who ruſhed on in deſperation, opened their lines, and afterward cloſing again, made great havock in that gallant body. Terror now ſeized the whole French army, every one crying, "Save himſelf, who can!" ſo that the duke de Noailles found himſelf under the neceſſity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, with the loſs of five thouſand men[23]. Had he been hotly purſued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete, and the defeat of the French total.

23. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. Voltaire. Tindal. Smollet.

The earl of Stair propoſed ſuch a meaſure; but his maſter, George II. happy in having bravely extricated himſelf from one imminent danger, did not chuſe to run the hazard of another. He was afraid of an ambuſcade. His troops had received little ſuſtenance for ſome days: they were come off a fatiguing march; they had been many hours under arms; and the enemy had ſtill a ſuperior army, and a great train of artillery, it was ſaid, to diſpute the paſſage of the river.

Theſe military conſiderations are ſufficient to account for the caution of the king of Great Britain, whoſe loſs, in killed and wounded, amounted to full three thouſand men, without the intervention of invidious political motives. And it muſt be admitted, even by thoſe who blame his conduct, and think the French might have been totally routed in their firſt confuſion, that the circumſtance of his being only an ally, and not a principal in the war, was a ſtrong argument for his not riſking too much. Happy had it been for his kingdom, if the ſame prudence had reſtrained him from taking ſo active a part in a quarrel, in which he was not immediately intereſted!—He dined on the field of battle, and in the evening proſecuted his march to Hanau; recommending his ſick and wounded to the care of the duke of Noailles, who treated them with great humanity and tenderneſs [24].

The

24. The character of Adrian Maurice, duke de Noailles, and Mareſchal of France, who united the talents of the conſummate general to thoſe of the able ſtateſman, at the ſame time that he ſucceſsfully cultivated literature, and acquired the reputation of a good citizen, is one of the moſt amiable and exalted of the age in which he lived. He enjoyed in a very high degree the confidence of Lewis XV. and delivered his ſentiments to his ſovereign, in a variety of letters and memorials on the moſt important ſubjects, with an honeſt freedom that is perhaps unexampled in a ſubject and a courtier. (See *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, &c. compoſés ſur les Pièces originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, Mareſchal de France & Miniſtre d'Etat, par M. l'Abbé* Millot, tom. iii. iv.) Setting aſide other inſtances, nothing can ſhew in a ſtronger light the magnanimity and diſintereſtedneſs of the duke de Noailles, than his recommending to the king count Saxe, as the perſon in his ſervice moſt capable of repairing the misfortunes of France. Experience has proved

The allied army was no ſooner joined by the expected reinforcement at Hanau than the earl of Stair propoſed, that, as the numbers on both ſides were nearly equal, the French ſhould be attacked by paſſing the Maine. But to the ſurpriſe of all Europe, no ſuch attempt was made. The king of Great Britain, flattered with humiliating propoſals of peace from the emperor, became every day more irreſolute. Even after the retreat of the duke de Noailles, who was under the neceſſity of marching to the aſſiſtance of mareſchal Coigny, in Upper Alſace, which was threatened by prince Charles of Lorrain, no effort was made to diſperſe or deſtroy the body of obſervation left under count Saxe; and although the allied army was reinforced with twenty thouſand Dutch auxiliaries in the month of September, it was early diſtributed into winter quarters, without doing any thing of conſequence after the victory of Dettingen. Oct. 14

The earl of Stair was ſo much diſſatisfied with this inaction, that he reſigned in diſguſt; and the duke de Noailles, who had apprehended the greateſt diſaſters, unacquainted with the reſtraints impoſed upon the Britiſh commander, felicitated his maſter, with that modeſty which is peculiar to real merit, that he had not to deal with an Eugene, a Marlborough, or a Staremberg, otherwiſe the iſſue of the campaign muſt have been very different[25]. Noailles effectually defeated the deſigns of prince Charles upon Alſace; but he could not prevent Mentzel, the famous partizan, from making an irruption, with four thouſand Auſtrian irregulars, into Lorrain and Luxemburg, where he committed terrible depredations.

The campaign in Italy was not more active or deciſive, though its beginning promiſed the moſt vigorous exertions.

proved, that the juſtneſs of his diſcernment was equal to the uprightneſs of his intentions; and degenerate ages muſt contemplate with aſtoniſhment, a courtier who dared to ſpeak truth to his prince, a ſtateſman whoſe ſupreme object was the good of his country, and a general whoſe ſoul was ſuperior to jealouſy.

25. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

Count de Gages, who commanded the Spaniſh army in the province of Bologna, paſſing the Parano in the beginning of February, attacked the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe forces, under count Traun, at Campo Santo, where a deſperate battle was fought, but without any decided advantage, both ſides claiming the victory. Gages however found himſelf under the neceſſity of repaſſing the Parano; and his army being much weakened by deſertion, he abandoned the city of Bologna, and marched to Rimini, in the province of Romagna. He there fortified his camp, and remained unmoleſted till the month of October, when prince Lobkowitz, having ſucceeded count Traun in the command of the Auſtrian army, entered Romagna, and obliged the Spaniſh general to retreat to Fano. Gages afterward took poſt at Peſaro, fortifying the paſſes of the river Foglia.

The ſeaſon was ſo far in the decline, before the Spaniſh army, under Don Philip in Savoy, entered upon action, that the campain on the ſide of Piedmont was diſtinguiſhed by no important event. This inaction was occaſioned by a ſecret negociation between the houſe of Bourbon and the king of Sardinia; and notwithſtanding the encomiums that have been paid to the fidelity of that prince, he would have entered into the views of France and Spain, if they had complied with his demands, or if the queen of Hungary had not agreed to more advantageous terms than they were willing to grant[26].

Theſe negociations produced the famous treaty of Worms; by which his Sardinian majeſty renounced his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, and guarantied anew the Pragmatic Sanction. The queen of Hungary, beſide relinquiſhing in his favour all title to the town and marquiſate of Final, then poſſeſſed by the republic of Genoa, but on which ſhe had ſome claims, agreed to put him in poſſeſſion of the Vigevaneſco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies be-

26. Id. ibid.

tween the Po and the Tessin, and to cede to him the towns of Placentia and Bombio, with all the territory from the source of the Nura to the lake of Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiss Cantons[27]. She farther engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy, as soon as the situation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king of Sardinia, on condition of his receiving from Great Britain an annual subsidy of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, obliged himself to keep up an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse[28].

This treaty, which dissipated all hopes of peace, and the haughty behaviour of the queen of Hungary, who not only refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia, produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria was revived, and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the imperial dignity in the person of Charles VII. now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire, whose misfortunes had awakened their compassion. The court of Versailles, ever watchful, encouraged these new dispositions[29]; and a secret negociation was successfully begun with the emperor, the elector Palatine, the king of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, who was become sensible, that unless a check was given to the growing power of Maria-Theresa, he must soon be stript of all his late conquests.

The issue of that negociation, which was conducted by Chevigny, the French minister at the imperial court, or

27. Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.
28. Id. ibid.
29. *Mem. de Noailles*, ubi sup.

rather afylum, in Frankfort, we fhall afterward have occafion to notice. In the meantime a family-compact, Oct. 25. or perpetual alliance and mutual guaranty of poffeffions and claims, was formed between France and Spain at Fontainbleau [30]; and the greateft preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour both by fea and land. Twenty thoufand French troops, under the prince of Conti, were ordered to join Don Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanifh fquadrons at Toulon were commanded to act in concert, and attempt to recover the fovereignty of the Mediterranean [31]. If fuccefsful, they were to join the Breft fleet; and, having eftablifhed a fuperiority in the Channel, to affift at a projected invafion of England.

That enterprife, which had for its remote object the re-eftablifhent of the houfe of Stuart, was more immediately planned with a view of obliging the king of Great Britain to recall his troops from the continent, and apply his attention to the defence of his own dominions, inftead of engaging in the fupport of foreign powers. A correfpondence was accordingly entered into with the Englifh and Scottifh Jacobites, who readily offered their affiftance, and magnified the public difcontents, at the fame time that they endeavoured to inflame them. The real difcontents, however, were very great. The people were enraged at the myfterious inaction of the laft campaign, which they juftly afcribed to the influence of German councils, and the political fituation of George II. as elector of Hanover. Nor were they lefs diffatisfied at the profpect of the continuance of a bloody and expenfive war, in which Great Britain was likely to become a principal inftead of an ally, after an honourable peace might have been concluded with the emperor, and the queen of Hungary fecured in the full poffeffion of all the Auftrian dominions in Germany, except Silefia, which fhe had ceded

30. One of the principal articles of this treaty was, that no peace fhould be concluded till Gibraltar was reftored to Spain. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.)

31. Millot. Voltaire.

to the king of Pruſſia. An univerſal diſguſt prevailed againſt the meaſures of the court.

Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, the ſmall number of troops in England, and the aſſurances of a powerful ſupport from the Jacobites, and even a general revolt in favour of the pretender, Lewis XV. entered ſeriouſly into the views of cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterpriſe, and the higheſt hopes were entertained of ſucceſs. Tencin was warmly attached to the Stuart family, by whoſe intereſt he had been raiſed to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French adminiſtration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of ſhewing his gratitude to his friends, and at the ſame time of ſerving his maſter, by giving a new king to Great Britain.

Nor did ſuch a revolution ſeem impoſſible, with the force that was prepared, to thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the ſituation of this kingdom, if France had poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the ſea. An army of fifteen thouſand men was aſſembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; and a number of tranſports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldeſt ſon of the chevalier de St. George, and to whom that prince had delegated his pretenſions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. A deſcent was to be made on the coaſt of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with a fleet of twenty ſhips of the line from Breſt and Rochfort, ſailed exultingly up the Channel, in order to protect the tranſports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thouſand men were embarked, and the firſt diviſion of the tranſports put to ſea; but a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, they were all driven back upon the French coaſt. Many of them were ſhattered; ſome of the largeſt, with all the men, were loſt; and a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, commanded by ſir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to make the beſt of his way to Breſt [32]; ſo that the young pretender,

A. D. 1744. January.

32. *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi ſup. Smollett, vol. xi.

after having a ſight of the promiſed land, found himſelf under the neceſſity of waiting for a more favourable opportunity, to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his anceſtors.

The alarm occaſioned by this formidable, though abortive enterpriſe, united the Whigs in the firm ſupport of government. They were made ſenſible, that their oppoſition to certain unpopular meaſures, and their political jealouſies of each other, had been repreſented by the enemies of Great Britain as a proof of their diſlike to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of ſucceſs in the projected invaſion, chiefly on the diviſion among the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. This appeared by a letter which he wrote to John duke of Argyle, an inconſiſtent but zealous Whig, whom the Jacobites ſuppoſed ready for a revolt, on account of the violence of his ſpeeches in parliament, and whom the pretender deſired to dictate his own terms[33]. But that harmony was of ſhort duration. The intelligence which ſoon arrived of a naval engagement in the Mediterranean, and the judicial proceedings relative to it, gave riſe to new diviſions and diſcontents.

In conſequence of the late alliance between France and Spain, concluded at Fontainbleau, the admirals of their combined fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, reſolved to give battle to that of England, by which they had been blocked up, and which prevented them from carrying proviſions or military ſtores to the Spaniſh armies in Italy. The Spaniſh ſquadron, commanded by Don Joſeph Navarro, conſiſted of ſixteen ſail of the line, though twelve only were fully manned; and the French ſquadron, under M. de Court, of fourteen ſail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ſhips. The Britiſh fleet, commanded by the admirals Matthews and Leſtock, were ſuperior in force, but leſs fit for action, as the ſhips had been

33. Id. ibid.

long

long at sea. It consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line, six ships of fifty guns, four frigates, and two fire-ships. And if a misunderstanding had not prevailed between the admirals, the combined fleet must have been utterly ruined.

Matthews, who lay in the bay of Hieres, no sooner perceived the enemy leave the road of Toulon than he weighed anchor, and bore down upon them. They did not decline the combat; and a desperate battle ensued, in which the British admiral behaved with great gallantry. But he was ill supported by his captains, and Lestock, with his whole division, remained all the time at a distance; so that the contest was long doubtful, and the most vigorous exertions only could have saved the ships that were engaged from being taken or destroyed. Victory however, at last, declared in favour of Matthews. The combined fleet, after an action of six hours, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of one ship of the line, named the Poder[34]. The royal Philip, another disabled ship, might also, it is supposed, have been taken, had the English admiral continued the chace; but his orders to guard the coast of Italy being positive, he did not think himself at liberty to neglect that important object, and run the hazard of being drawn down the Straits, for the precarious possibility of making a single prize, all the other ships of the enemy sailing too fast to leave him any hope of coming up with them[35]. Feb. 11.

The loss of so favourable an opportunity of breaking the naval power of the house of Bourbon occasioned the loudest complaints in England, and the failure of the British fleet to destroy that of the enemy became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. From a committee of the house of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of misbehaviour, and subjected to different degrees of punishment; but, to the astonishment of the pub-

34. Smollett, vol. xi. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

35. See the *Defence* made by Matthews on his Trial.

lic,

lic, admiral Lestock was fully acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy!—Though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Lestock, by keeping aloof, when he had it in his power to engage, was not only the cause of the miscarriage complained of, but of exposing the British fleet to the most imminent danger, in order to gratify his vindictive spirit; while Matthews, rushing into the hottest of the enemy's fire, fought like a hero, and discovered a noble zeal for the service of his king and country [36]. Such ridiculous things, as experience has since repeatedly proved, are courts martial in factious times!

Before these judicial proceedings were finished, mutual declarations of war had been issued by the kings of France and England, who thenceforth became in some measure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Versailles having issued a declaration of war also against her Hungarian majesty. Lewis XV. accused George II. of having violated the neutrality of Hanover, of dissuading the queen of Hungary from coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and of blocking up the ports and disturbing the commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, both secretly and openly, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the pretender, contrary to the most solemn engagements, furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain; and of committing actual hostilities on the British fleet in the Mediterranean [37]. Both parties had formed the most sanguine, and not ill-grounded hopes of success: the king of Great Britain on the valour of his troops, the

March 20—31.

36. Compare the *Trials* of Matthews and Lestock.

37. Printed *Declarations of War*.

hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the houſe of Bourbon on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the vaſt preparations they had made for proſecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

The campaign in Italy was early begun on the ſide of Piedmont. Don Philip being joined by twenty thouſand French troops under the prince of Conti, paſſed the river Var, which deſcends from the Alps, and falls into the ſea of Genoa a little below the city of Nice. The whole county of Nice ſubmitted. But before the confederates could advance farther, they had to force the Piedmonteſe entrenchments at Villa Franca, and afterwards to reduce the caſtle of Montauban, ſituated among rocks, which form a chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. All theſe difficulties, however, were ſurmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not without great loſs [38]. Their intention was, to penetrate into the duchy of Milan through the Genoeſe territories; a meaſure that would have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Admiral Matthews, who had by this time returned to the coaſt of Italy, therefore ſent a ſpirited meſſage to the ſenate of Genoa, declaring, that if the confederate army was ſuffered to paſs through the dominions of the republic, he muſt conſider it as a breach of her neutrality, and would be under the neceſſity of immediately commencing hoſtilities againſt her ſubjects.

March. 31.

Alarmed at this threat, the Genoeſe, though ſecretly in the intereſt of the houſe of Bourbon, prevailed with Don Philip and the prince of Conti to chuſe another route. They accordingly defiled off toward Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the ſtrong poſt of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in perſon. It was carried after a deſperate attack, in which the officers

38. Voltaire. Millot.

and

and soldiers of the two confederate, yet rival nations, performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the French," said the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Don Philip, "but we cannot behave "better."—"This has been," says the prince of Conti, in a letter to Lewis XV. "one of the most hot and brilliant "actions that ever happened: the troops have shewn a cou-"rage more than human [39]. The valour and presence of "mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I "recommend to you M. de Solemi and the chevalier de "Modena. La Carte is killed. Your majesty, who "knows the value of friendship, will feel how much I am "affected by his loss [40]!" History records with particular pleasure such expressions of generosity and sympathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince of Conti to the bosom of Lewis XV. is equally elegant and emphatic.

After losing the important pass of Chateau Dauphin, and another called the Barricades, which was carried at the same time, the king of Sardinia, not being in a condition to hazard a battle, drew off his troops and artillery from the frontiers, in order to cover his capital. He took post at Saluzzo, about seventeen miles south of Turin; while the confederates, having made themselves masters of the castle of Demont, situated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, invested the strong town of Coni, the possession of which was necessary, to open them a passage into the duchy of Milan. Meantime the king of Sardinia, being reinforced by a body of ten thousand Austrians, under Palavicini, resolved to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly advanced, with a superior force, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But, after an

39. They had the boldness to clamber up rocks of an incredible height, mounted with cannon, and to pass through the embrasures, when the guns recoiled.

40. Voltaire. Millot.

obſtinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conſpicuous on both ſides, he was obliged to retire, with the loſs of five thouſand men, to his camp in the valley of Muraſſo. The loſs of the confederates was little inferior. And his Sardinian majeſty having found means to reinforce the garriſon of Coni, and alſo to convey into the town a ſupply of proviſions, Don Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after it had been continued till the end of November, to the almoſt total ruin of their army. Having deſtroyed the fortifications of Demont, in their retreat, they repaſſed the mountains, utterly evacuating Piedmont, and took up their winter-quarters in Dauphiny [41]. But the Spaniards ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy. Sept. 24.

The campaign, in the ſouth of Italy, was alſo diſtinguiſhed by a diverſity of fortune. His Sicilian majeſty having, in violation of his forced neutrality, joined the Spaniſh army, under the count de Gages, with twenty-five thouſand of his own troops, prince Lobkowitz, the Auſtrian general, had orders to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left Monte Rotondo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he was encamped, and advanced toward Velitri, near which the confederates were poſted. While the two armies lay in ſight of each other, prince Lobkowitz ſent a ſtrong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, where they diſtributed a manifeſto, in the name of her Hungarian majeſty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spaniſh yoke, and put themſelves again under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria. That meaſure, however, was attended with very little ſucceſs, the Neapolitans ſhewing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz, therefore, collected his forces, and reſolved to make an attack upon the head-quarters of the confederates at Velitri. This enterpriſe he committed to count Brown, an able

41. Voltaire. Millot. Smollett. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. The two laſt volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

and

and active general, whom I shall afterward have occasion frequently to mention; and in order to render the design successful, he amused the enemy with ambiguous motions.

In the mean time count Brown, at the head of six thousand choice troops, surprised Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were in the utmost danger of being made prisoners. They escaped with difficulty to the quarters of count de Gages, who performed, on this occasion, the part of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, removed the panic which had begun to prevail in the camp, and made a masterly disposition for cutting off the communication of the detachment of the enemy with their main body. Count Brown therefore, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, and seeing no prospect of assistance, thought proper to attempt a retreat. That he effected with great gallantry, carrying away a prodigious booty.

Three thousand of the Spaniards and Neapolitans are said to have been killed in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken, together with many standards, colours, and other military trophies. The Austrians lost only about six hundred men; but the failure of the enterprise, and the heats of autumn, proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz seeing his army daily mouldering away, without the possibility of being recruited, decamped from Fiola; and (Nov. 2.) passing the Tyber at the Ponte Molle, anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him when the enemy's vanguard appeared, he crossed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory, where he went into winter quarters[42].

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more successful in Germany and the Low Countries. But considering the unexpected confederacy that was formed against

42. Id Ibid.

them,

them, and the inferiority of their generals, they had little reason to complain of fortune. The negociations at Frankfort being brought to an iſſue, a treaty was there concluded, through the influence of France, between the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the elector Palatine. The declared object of this treaty was to reſtore the imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging, either to perſuade or oblige the queen of Hungary, to acknowledge the title of Charles VII. to give up the archives of the empire, ſtill in her poſſeſſion, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion to be ſettled by a friendly compromiſe, or juridical deciſion. So far the confederacy ſeemed laudable. But, by a ſeparate article, which breathed a very different ſpirit, the king of Pruſſia engaged to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of Bohemia, and to guaranty to him Upper Auſtria, as ſoon as conquered, on condition that he ſhould give up to his Pruſſian majeſty the town and circle of Koningſgratz, in its whole extent, with all the country ſituated between the frontiers of Sileſia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Koningſgratz to the confines of Saxony. The king of Pruſſia however, by previous agreement, and a ſeparate treaty with the court of Verſailles, was not obliged to take up arms, until he ſhould ſee France act with vigour [43].

In order to procure the ready co-operation of this politic, ambitious, and powerful prince, Lewis XV. put himſelf at the head of his army in Flanders, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, as early as the ſeaſon would permit, and inveſted Menin. The duke de Noailles, and the celebrated count Saxe, now a mareſchal of France, commanded under him, and carried every thing before them. Menin ſurrendered in ſeven days. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, were reduced with almoſt equal facility. And the

43. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

king

king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph, while the allied army, to the number of ſeventy thouſand men, unable to obſtruct his progreſs, continued poſted behind the Scheld.

But Lewis XV. was ſoon obliged to quit this ſcene of conqueſt, and haſten to the defence of his own dominions. Having received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorrain had paſſed the Rhine, and entered Alſace at the head of ſixty thouſand Auſtrians, he diſpatched the duke de Noailles, with forty thouſand choice troops, to join the mareſchal de Coigni, who commanded in that province, while he himſelf followed with a farther reinforcement; leaving mareſchal Saxe, with the remainder of his army, to oppoſe the allies in Flanders [44]. And the maſterly movements of that conſummate general, together with the want of concert between the Auſtrian and Engliſh commanders, d'Aremberg and Wade, prevented them from gaining any advantage during the campaign, though now greatly ſuperior in force.

Before the duke de Noailles could form a junction with Coigni, the prince of Lorrain had taken Weiſſenburg, and laid all Lower Alſace under contribution. At Metz the king of France was ſeized with a fever, which threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. Meanwhile prince Charles having got information that the king of Pruſſia had entered Bohemia, repaſſed the Rhine in ſight of a ſuperior army, and haſtened to the relief of that kingdom. Lewis XV. after his recovery, laid ſiege to Friburg; and the reduction of this important place, by the famous engineer count Louendahl, who had entered into the French ſervice, concluded the buſineſs of the campaign on the ſide of Alſace.

The king of Pruſſia, on taking up arms, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, That he could no longer remain an idle ſpectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himſelf obliged to make uſe of force, to reſtore the power of

44. Id. ibid.

the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he desired nothing for himself, had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and had only entered into the war as an auxiliary, in order to assert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquish his claims on the Austrian succession, provided his hereditary dominions were restored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable proposals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and all Bohemia to the east of the Moldaw. But these conquests were of short duration. Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, animated by a British subsidy, ordered sixteen thousand men to join the prince of Lorrain. He was also joined by a large body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, Maria-Theresa, who had acquired by her popular manner [45], as well as her indulgences both civil and religious, an extraordinary interest in their affections; so that the king of Prussia, unable to withstand so great a force, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued thither by prince Charles; and the rigour of the season only, perhaps, prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians, in their retreat, lost above thirty thousand men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, and waggons, loaded with provisions and plunder.

December.

While the high-minded Frederick III. was experiencing

45. To old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had, on this occasion, caused the red standard of the kingdom to be displayed, as a signal for every man who could bear arms to turn out, she wrote the following letter, accompanied with a present of her own horse, richly caparisoned, a gold-hilted sword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

"Father Palfy!

"I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted only by the most zealous "of my faithful subjects. Receive, at the same time, this sword, to defend "me against mine enemies; and accept of this ring, as a mark of my affec-"tion for you. "MARIA THERESA."

this ſudden reverſe of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. got once more poſſeſſion of his capital. Seckendorff, the imperial general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Auſtrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Pruſſians, and the rapid progreſs of the prince of Lorrain, filled the emperor with new apprehenſions: and he was in danger of being a third time chaſed from his dominions, when death came to his relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguiſh of a wounded ſpirit. His ſon, Maximilian Joſeph, being only ſeventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the imperial throne. He, therefore, very wiſely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majeſty, notwithſtanding all the intrigues of France, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to ſtrip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria-Thereſa agreed to recogniſe the imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of Charles VII. and to put his ſon in poſſeſſion of all his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; conſented to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to give his vote for the grand-duke at the enſuing election of an emperor, and to diſmiſs the auxiliary troops in his ſervice [46].

A. D. 1745.

This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification; as the cauſe of the war in Germany no longer exiſted; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpoſe of which was the ſupport of the imperial dignity, had now no object. The queen of Hungary, to procure peace, and the vote of Brandenburg for her huſband, would readily have agreed to confirm the treaty of Breſlaw; and the king of Pruſſia, after his ſevere loſſes, could have required nothing more for himſelf than the

46. See the Treaty in Tindal's *Continuation* of Rapin's *Hiſt. of England*, vol. xi.

undiſputed

undisputed possession of Silesia. But the court of France, which had begun the war out of policy, instigated and pensioned by that of Spain, resolved to continue it from passion; and his Britannic majesty was too intimately connected with the queen of Hungary, as well as too highly interested in preserving the balance of Europe, to desert his allies at such a crisis.

The marquis d'Argenson, the French minister for war, who had at this time great influence in the cabinet, declared that France, having undertaken to give a head to the Germanic body, ought to hazard the last soldier, rather than suffer the grand-duke to be elected emperor. The court of Versailles accordingly made an offer of the imperial crown to Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony: but he, sensible that it was not in their gift, very prudently refused it, unless it could be procured without violence; and renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The French ministry, however, persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war with vigour in Germany and the Low Countries, in order to facilitate the operations of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon in Italy; where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined, cost what it might, to establish a sovereignty for her second son, Don Philip, at the expence of Maria-Theresa [47]. And the success of the ensuing campaign seemed to justify her firmness and perseverance.

The republic of Genoa, which had been long wavering, at last concluded a treaty with the house of Bourbon, that

47. See *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires*, &c. *composés sur les pièces originales, recueillies par* ADRIEN MAURICE, duc de NOAILLES, *Mareschal de France et Ministre d' Etat, par M. l'Abbé* Millot. It is not a little remarkable, that the same Abbé, in his *Elemens d' Hist. Gen.* ascribes the continuance of the war, after the death of Charles VII. to the *hatred* of the *English* against the *French nation!* He was not then favoured, it is to be presumed, with the papers of the duke de Noailles, which throw new light upon the subject.

proved fatal to the interefts of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. The armies of count de Gages and Don Philip, confifting of French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, having formed a junction in the territories of that republic from which they received a confiderable reinforcement, amounted to eighty thoufand men; while the Piedmontefe and Auftrians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schulenberg, who had been fent to fuperfede prince Lobkowitz, did not exceed forty-five thoufand. There was no contending againft fuch fuperior force.

Don Philip, and Maillebois, who acted under him, having fucceeded the prince of Conti in the command of the French troops, obliged his Sardinian majefty and Schulenberg to retire beyond the Tanaro. Count de Gages invefted and took Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himfelf mafter of Parma and Placentia. The city of Pavia was taken by affault, and Milan itfelf was forced to furrender, though the citadel continued to hold out.

Pufhing his advantages, Don Philip paffed the Tanaro, and compelled the Auftrian and Piedmontefe armies to take fhelter behind the Po. He reduced Valenza, Cafal, Afti, Gabrano, and even Vienne, only twenty miles north-eaft of Turin: and the king of Sardinia was fo apprehenfive of his capital being bombarded, that he pofted his army within cover of its cannon, and ordered the pavement of the ftreets to be taken up. But Don Philip, inftead of undertaking fuch an arduous enterprife, clofed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan [48].

The houfe of Bourbon and their allies were no lefs fuccefsful in other quarters. Lewis XV. had two leading objects in view; to obftruct the election of the grand-duke, and to complete the conqueft of Flanders. He accordingly affembled two great armies: one on the Maine, under the prince of Conti, in order to prevent the queen of Hungary from

48. Voltaire. Millot.

employing

employing a ſuperior force againſt the king of Pruſſia, and to over-awe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfort; the other, conſiſting of ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, commanded by count Saxe, under whom the duke de Noailles condeſcended to ſerve as firſt aid-de-camp, inveſted Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the moſt important in the Dutch Barrier [49]. The king and the dauphin appeared in the camp, and animated by their preſence the operations of the beſiegers. The allied army amounted only to fifty-three thouſand men; yet with theſe it was reſolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. The Hanoverian and Britiſh troops were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, a brave but inexperienced young prince. The Auſtrians were conducted by old count Konigſeg; and the Dutch by the prince of Waldeck, as young and inexperienced as the duke of Cumberland. April 24.

Mareſchal Saxe, who to a natural genius for war joined a profound knowlege of the military art, was no ſooner informed of the purpoſe of the confederates, than he made the moſt maſterly diſpoſitions for receiving them. The French army was poſted on a riſing ground, with the village of Antoine, near the Eſcaut, on its right; the wood of Barry on its left, and in front the village of Fontenoy. In the wood, and at both theſe villages, were erected formidable batteries of heavy cannon, and the intermediate ſpace was farther defended by ſtrong redoubts. The confederates, however, who had but imperfectly reconnoitred the ſituation of the enemy, raſhly perſiſted in their reſolution of hazarding an attack. Nor were the French without their apprehenſions of its conſequences, from the known valour of the Britiſh troops. The bridge of Colonne, over which the king had paſſed the Eſcaut, was accordingly fortified with entrenchments, and occupied by a ſtout body of re-

49. The ſovereignty of the barrier-towns belonged to the houſe of Auſtria; but they were garriſoned with Dutch troops, for the ſupport of which the States were permitted, by the treaty of Utrecht, to levy certain impoſitions on the inhabitants.

ſerve, in order to ſecure him a retreat, if neceſſary [50]. And to this neceſſity he muſt have been driven, had the Britiſh troops been properly ſupported, and the duke of Cumberland's orders duly executed.

The allies were in motion by two o'clock in the morning, and the cannonading began as ſoon as it was light. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action laſted till three in the afternoon. Never was there a more deſperate or gallant attack than that made by the Britiſh infantry, commanded by the duke of Cumberland in perſon, aſſiſted by ſir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was ſo heavy, that it ſwept off whole ranks at a ſingle diſcharge, they continued to advance, as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to ſtop their progreſs. Forming themſelves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to put them into diſorder. The village of Antoine was evacuated; and mareſchal Saxe, concluding that all was loſt, ſent advice to the king to provide for his ſafety, by repaſſing the bridge of Colonne. But Lewis XV. who did not want perſonal courage, ſenſible that ſuch a ſtep would give a decided victory to the allies, refuſed to quit his poſt [51]. His firmneſs ſaved his army from ruin and diſgrace.

April 30.

Aſhamed to deſert their ſovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumſtances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, having failed in an attack upon the village of Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered ſucceſsful, had ſhamefully left the field. An Engliſh and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldſby, had alſo miſcarried, through miſtake, in a practicable attempt to take poſſeſſion of a redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barry, and immediately oppoſite Fonte-

50. Voltaire, *Siecle Louis XV.* chap. xv. 51. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

noy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the support of the infantry [52]. This victorious body, now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant firing, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, was therefore obliged to retire, with the loss of seven thousand men, after having successfully routed almost every regiment in the French army [53]. The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was also very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Austrians inconsiderable.

The French had near ten thousand men killed, and, among these, many persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune extravagantly high. Their exultation, in the hour of triumph, seemed to bear a proportion to the danger they had been in of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced one another on the field of battle, and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulation [54]. They had, indeed, much reason to be satisfied with their victory, which was followed by the most important consequences. For although the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without losing either colours or standards, the allies were never afterward able, during the campaign, to face the ene-

52. Id. Ibid.

53. "All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, "presented themselves, one after another; and the "English column, facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that ad-"vanced." (*Siecle Louis* XV. chap xv.) "From the moment the French and "Swiss guards were routed," adds he, "there was nothing but astonish-"ment and confusion throughout the French army. Mareschal Saxe ordered "the cavalry to fall upon the English column; but their efforts were at-"tended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, "and so intrepid." (Id. ibid.) "If the Dutch," continues he, "had passed "the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoine: if they had given "proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left for the French; "not even a retreat perhaps for the king and the dauphin." *Siecle*, ubi sup.

54. Voltaire. Millot.

my; but lay entrenched, between Antwerp and Bruſſels, while mareſchal Saxe and count Louendahl reduced, by ſtratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Oſtend, Newport, and every other fortified place in Auſtrian Flanders.

But the king of France, though ſo highly favoured by fortune, was not able to prevent the queen of Hungary from obtaining the great object of her wiſhes, in the elevation of her huſband to the imperial throne. The French army on the Maine, under the prince of Conti who had ſuperſeded Maillebois in the command, not being able to face the Auſtrians under Bathiani, the electors aſſembled in perfect ſecurity at Frankfort, and raiſed to the head of the empire the grand-duke of Tuſcany, under the name of Francis I.

Sept. 13. Meanwhile the king of Pruſſia gained two bloody victories over the Auſtrians, under the prince of Lorrain; one near Fridburg, on the confines of Sileſia, the other at Slandentz, in Bohemia. And not ſatisfied with theſe advantages, though he had already entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majeſty at Hanover, he invaded Saxony, and made himſelf maſter of Dreſden.

The king of Poland now found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, and the king of Pruſſia was heartily tired of the war. A treaty was accordingly concluded at

Dec. 14. Dreſden, between Auguſtus III. as elector of Saxony, and Frederick III. by which Auguſtus agreed to pay to his Pruſſian majeſty, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipſic. Another treaty, confirming that of Breſlaw, was at the ſame time concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the queen of Hungary. This treaty ſecured to Frederick III. the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, on condition of his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, alſo conſented to make the ſame acknowledgment[55].

55. Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

These treaties reſtored tranquillity to Germany. But war, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, continued to rage for ſome years longer, between the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria. In the mean time, my dear Philip, we muſt attend to ſome tranſactions that more immediately concern our own iſland.

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the Domeſtic Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN, *including ſome foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the Reſignation of Sir* ROBERT WALPOLE, *in* 1742, *to the final Suppreſſion of the Rebellion in* SCOTLAND, *in* 1746.

FROM the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, but more eſpecially after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in 1715, it had been the conſtant aim of the Tories, the natural friends of monarchy, and of certain diſappointed Whigs who joined them and aſſumed the impoſing name of patriots, to obſtruct all the meaſures of government, under pretence of the public good; to repreſent the eſſential intereſts of the nation as ſacrificed to a puſillanimous policy, which tamely courted peace, while the treaſure of the kingdom was prodigally waſted in German ſubſidies, more than adequate to the ſupport of a vigorous war, and its honour baſely bartered for the precarious ſecurity of mercenary alliances, or treaties bought by mean ſubmiſſions. "And for what?" ſaid the Jacobites, when they durſt ſpeak out, and moſt of the Tories were Jacobites:— "to maintain a foreign family upon the throne, in excluſion "of the lineal heir!"—Such, and more contumelious, was the language of oppoſition in parliament, and of the pretended patriots in their private juntos, during the whole adminiſtra-

tion of Sir Robert Walpole [1], who underſtood and purſued the true intereſts of his country, but without ſufficiently attending to its honour.

On the reſignation of this able ſtateſman, the patriots were called into office, and the greateſt reformation was expected in every department of government. But lord Carteret, the new prime miniſter, and his aſſociates, not only rejected every popular motion, but went even farther, as we have already ſeen, than their predeceſſors, in flattering the prejudices of their ſovereign in favour of the continental ſyſtem. Large ſubſidies were at the ſame time paid to the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia; large bodies of foreign troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and a Britiſh army was tranſported into Flanders, to fight battles from which Great Britain could derive no poſitive advantage. The war was continued, from pride and paſſion, long after its political object, as far as it concerned this kingdom, was accompliſhed; namely, to prevent the French from acquiring an aſcendant in Germany, by diſmembering the Auſtrian ſucceſſion.

A. D. 1742.

Naturally haughty, elated with ſucceſs, and aſſured of the ſupport of the Britiſh miniſtry, the queen of Hungary, in the hour of her intoxication, abſolutely refuſed to reſtore to the emperor Charles VII. his hereditary dominions, though he offered, on that condition, to renounce all claim to any part of her inheritance [2]. Not contented with being enabled to defend her own territories, ſhe pro-

A. D. 1743.

1. See the *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

2. A treaty to this purpoſe was actually negociated at Hanau, in order to preſerve appearances, ſoon after the battle of Dettingen, through the mediation of his Britannic Majeſty. But it was rendered abortive, by a *ſecret underſtanding*, or intrigue, between the courts of London and Vienna; in conſequence of which, the Britiſh miniſtry, or rather the regency appointed during the king's abſence, refuſed to ratify the preliminaries to which their ſovereign had ſeemingly given his aſſent.

jected conquests both in Italy and Germany. Nothing less would satisfy her than the recovery of Naples and Silesia, though both had been formally ceded by treaty; and the king of Great Britain, instead of withdrawing his assistance at this juncture, or insisting on her reconciliation with the emperor, was so ill advised as to acquiesce in the ambitious aim.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by these unpopular and impolitic measures encouraged the Jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the Pretender, and the court of France, as we have seen, to attempt an invasion in his favour. Had the French been able to land, under so consummate a general as count Saxe, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; but we can affirm with confidence, that, as the enterprise proved abortive, it was of infinite service to the reigning family. The alarm which it occasioned united all the Whigs in the zealous support of government. They became sensible of the hazard to which they were exposed by their own dissensions, on which, it appeared, the Pretender had chiefly built his hopes of success.

A. D. 1744. January.

Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both houses of parliament, and from all the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, though disgusted with the court, tendered their service to his majesty, in any station he should think proper to name. Their offer was accepted: both were taken into favour; and the earl of Stair was appointed commander in chief of the forces in South Britain. The duke of Argyle, who had long distinguished himself by his opposition in parliament, communicated to the privy council a letter of thanks from the chevalier de St. George, containing the most liberal promises, in case of his elevation to the throne [3]. People of every condition, in a word, who had

3. Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

any

any regard for civil or religious liberty, seemed to set their face against the Pretender; and all former grievances were forgot, in the presence of so pressing a danger.

Many causes of national discontent, however, still remained; all which were magnified, and industriously pointed out by the Jacobites, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and induce the king of France to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight off Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. And other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court.

The king of Prussia, on renewing hostilities in consequence of the treaty of Frankfort, beside the manifesto which he published, accusing the queen Hungary of ambition and obstinacy (in rejecting the reasonable offers of the emperor), and the king of Great Britain of fostering that haughty spirit, sent a rescript to his minister at the court of London, very artfully drawn up and admirably suited to the temper of the times. "I hope," says he, "that no judicious Englishman, "nor any Briton, zealous for the constitution of his country, "can possibly mistake the equity of my resolution, as he "may at once convince himself of it, by merely transporting "to the theatre of England what now passes on that of Germany. For, as every true English patriot would look "with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be carried on in his country, in order to dethrone the reigning family and place the crown upon the head of the Pretender, "and would oppose such practices to the utmost of his "power; in like manner, there is no patriotic or powerful "prince of the empire, that can see with indifference, and "coolly suffer another member of the empire, such as the "queen of Hungary, to attempt to despoil of his dignity and "authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest "with the imperial ensigns a candidate destitute of the qualifications

"lifications most essential to fill that august throne. In "consequence of the same principle," adds he, "as no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy "of Great Britain, or with the constitution of its government, I have some grounds to hope, that the English nation will not meddle with the domestic affairs of the empire: and I entertain those hopes the more firmly, because "England can have no inducement to take part in this "quarrel from any *commercial* or *political considerations*."

Though this extraordinary address, to subjects instead of their sovereign, did not meet with such general approbation as its royal author expected, it was not without its effect: and the shameful languor of the campaign in Flanders made the English nation fully sensible of the folly of engaging in foreign quarrels. The credit of the ministry sunk to nothing: their conduct was arraigned by men of all parties; and they had little family influence. The king therefore resolved, in compliance with the sense of his people, as well as for his own ease, to chuse a new administration, though not to change his political system; the indignation of the public being chiefly directed against those apostate patriots who, after having hunted down sir Robert Walpole as an enemy to the constitution and a betrayer of the interests of his country, had themselves pursued more exceptionable measures, without taking one popular step.

At the head of the new ministry stood Mr. Henry Pelham, already first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, who had been for some years one of the principal secretaries of state. They possessed great parliamentary interest; and, in order to acquire popularity, as well as to increase their strength, they formed a coalition with the *real patriots*, or those leading members in both houses, who had continued to oppose the measures of the court during the late administration, on finding they were no better than those of the former, or because they thought their merit had been neglected in the

the diſpoſal of offices, after the reſignation of ſir Robert Walpole. To that coalition they gave the name of the BROAD BOTTOM, as comprehending honeſt and able men of all parties. Conformable to this idea, the earl of Harrington was appointed to ſucceed earl Granville, formerly lord Carteret, as ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Bedford was made firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the earl of Cheſterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. George Lyttelton, afterward lord Lyttelton, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury; Mr. Doddington, treaſurer of the navy; and ſir John Hynd Cotton, treaſurer of the chamber [4].

The wide baſe on which Mr. Pelham had founded his adminiſtration left little room for parliamentary oppoſition; and faction, though ſecretly plotting new revolutions, ſeemed for a ſeaſon to be lulled aſleep. Very liberal ſupplies were voted for proſecuting the war on the continent: vigorous meaſures were reſolved upon, as the moſt likely means of bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion; and the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief, in order to carry thoſe meaſures into execution. The earl of Cheſterfield was diſpatched to the Hague, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, with a view of perſuading the Dutch to become principals in the war, or at leaſt to engage them to ſettle, and furniſh with exactneſs, their quota of troops and ſubſidies. He ſucceeded in the latter; and the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained of ſucceſs.

A. D. 1745.

But all thoſe hopes were blaſted by the fatal battle of Fontenoy. Freſh diſcontents aroſe: the machinations of the Jacobites were renewed; and the king of France, whoſe great object was the conqueſt of Flanders, in order to procure the recall of the Britiſh troops from that country, encouraged the young Pretender, by flattering promiſes and falſe repreſentations, to attempt a deſcent in the North of Scotland. Repreſentations, equally falſe and illuſory, were made

4. Id. ibid.

to him by certain Irish and Scottish adventurers, who, having nothing to lose, were ready for any desperate enterprise, and probably bribed by the court of Versailles to cajole him into a compliance with its views. They affirmed, that the whole British nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the body of the people, loaded with oppressive taxes, and longing for relief, would every where crowd to his standard as soon as it should be erected; that the regular troops in the kingdom were few; and that, being assured of a powerful support from France, he could not doubt of being able to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Charles, who was naturally confident, encouraged by these intoxicating misrepresentations, embarked at Port Lazare, in Brittany, on board an armed vessel, which his father had found interest to equip, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other Irish and Scottish adherents, with nine hundred stand of arms. The Elizabeth, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with arms and ammunition, was appointed him as a convoy; but she falling in with the Lion, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, was obliged, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, to return to Brest in a shattered condition. Charles, however, pursued his voyage; and having made the circuit of Ireland, landed on the coast of Lochaber. He was there joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and some other Highland chiefs, who, though they did not approve of his rash and ill concerted undertaking, thought themselves bound in honour to assert the rights of a prince whose cause was dear to them, and who had thrown himself upon their generosity [5].

July 14.

The naked and defenceless condition of the Pretender was too evident to escape the observation of the least intelligent of his partisans. But this objection was artfully set aside by the address of his followers. His deficiency in arms and ammunition, it was said, might be accounted for from the

5. Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. Smollett. vol. xi.

unforeseen

unforeſeen misfortune that had befallen his convoy; and his coming without foreign force was produced as a proof of his ſuperior diſcernment, as well as of his confidence in the affection of his friends. The rooted hatred and animoſity of the Engliſh againſt the French nation, it was ingeniouſly urged, had been the chief cauſe of the failure of all the attempts of the latter to re-eſtabliſh the family of Stuart on the throne of Great Britain; that a perpetual jealouſy of the influence of this rival nation, always connected with the idea of popery and arbitrary power, could alone have induced a great and generous people ſo long to ſubmit to the dominion of a foreign family, in excluſion of their hereditary princes; that thoſe bug-bears being chaſed away by the magnanimity and heroiſm of the youthful Charles, he had only to march ſouthward at the head of his faithful clans, in order to be joined by multitudes of his father's loyal ſubjects, who longed for an opportunity of renewing their allegiance; and that, ſhould any foreign power interpoſe in behalf of the houſe of Hanover, or the Britiſh troops be recalled from Flanders, a ſuperior French army would be landed, to complete the glorious revolution.

Theſe plauſible arguments, recommended by a magnificent ſide-board of plate, and a large ſum in ready money, which to the frugal Highlanders ſeemed a royal treaſure, were ſo well received, that Charles ſoon found himſelf at the head of ſome thouſands of hardy mountaineers, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and warmly devoted to his perſon, in conſequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as of his having aſſumed the ancient military dreſs of their country, which added new grace to his tall and handſome figure, at the ſame time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air; and who, from all thoſe motives, were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his cauſe.

But this ardour to riſe in arms was confined to the heads of a few clans; and theſe, namely, Lochiel, Glenco, Glengary, Keppock, Clanronald, and ſome other chiefs, though diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed by their valour, were by no means the moſt conſiderable for their numbers. Political intereſt had drawn to the ſide of government, or prudence taught, a quiet ſubmiſſion to the heads of many of thoſe clans who had been the grand ſupport of the Pretender's claim in 1715, and who were, from principle, ſtill attached to the houſe of Stuart.

The eldeſt ſon of the attainted earl of Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was a member of the houſe of commons, as was alſo the head of the Macleods. The chief of the Macdonalds, the moſt numerous of the Jacobite clans, had declared againſt an inſurrection. The repreſentative of the noble and powerful family of Gordon, whoſe retainers made a principal figure in the former rebellion, was now become proteſtant, and lay under great obligations to government; and lord Lovat, the head of the Fraſers, beſide his utter want of principle, was backward in declaring himſelf. Nor was this all. The duke of Argyle's Highlanders, the earl of Sutherland's men, the Monroes, and ſeveral other proteſtant clans, ſeemed ſincerely attached to the reigning family, as were all the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, a few catholic and nonjuring families excepted [6]. This matter is but little underſtood.

The people of the low country of Scotland are chiefly Preſbyterians, and jealous of their civil and religious rights. That jealouſy led them, as we have ſeen, to take up arms againſt Charles I. before a ſword was drawn in England. By neglecting to bargain for the free exerciſe of their religion at the Reſtoration, they were again expoſed to perſecu-

6. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. written, as already noticed, by the late laborious and intelligent Mr. Guthrie, whoſe account of the rebellion in Scotland is very full, circumſtantial, and accurate. The author of theſe Letters was then a boy, by no means incapable of memory; and he has ſince had occaſion to converſe with many perſons deeply engaged in that rebellion, as well as with many employed in ſuppreſſing it. He therefore conſiders himſelf as a contemporary. This obſervation he means ſhould extend to the whole ſubſequent part of his narration.

 tion

tion under Charles II. But at the Revolution they took care to ſecure both their civil and religious liberties, which were farther ſecured by the Union. They have, therefore, on all occaſions, firmly adhered to the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and were, at this criſis, equally alarmed at the idea of the Pretender and of the Highlanders, whoſe cruel depredations under the marquis of Montroſe, the viſcount Dundee, and the earl of Mar, were ſtill freſh in their memory. They were the moſt loyal ſubjects of the houſe of Hanover in Great Britain. But they had long been diſuſed to arms; and were therefore filled with melancholy apprehenſions at the threatening danger. The diſaſters in Flanders, the rapid progreſs of the French power, and the defenceleſs ſtate of their own country, all preſſed upon their minds.

The news of a fortunate event in America, contributed in ſome degree to remove this deſpondency; namely, the conqueſt of the iſland of Cape Breton.

That iſland, of which the French were ſhamefully left in poſſeſſion at the peace of Utrecht, through the negligence or corruption of the Engliſh miniſtry, when Great Britain had the power of giving law to her enemies, is ſituated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and is ninety miles in length and ſixty at its greateſt breadth. Newfoundland, which lies to the eaſt, is but fifteen leagues diſtant; and Nova Scotia, to the weſt, is ſeparated from it only by a channel about twelve miles broad. Thus placed between the territories of France, and thoſe ceded to her rival, Cape Breton threatened the poſſeſſion of the one, while it protected thoſe of the other. Louiſburg, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt, was the chief town and port in the iſland. The harbour, naturally ſafe and capacious, was ſtrongly fortified; the narrow entrance being guarded by two formidable batteries, whoſe croſs-fire threatened inſtant deſtruction to any ſhip that ſhould attempt to force a paſſage. The town was walled, and defended by all the works that can render a place impregnable. It was the key of communication between

France and Canada, as well as the grand bulwark of her fisheries. And it was considered by the English colonies as the Dunkirk of America; as it afforded protection to a swarm of French frigates and privateers, that ruined their trade, and pillaged them with impunity.

Influenced by these considerations, the British ministry were induced to listen to the proposals of the people of New England, who offered to undertake the reduction of Louisburg. Commodore Warren, then stationed at Antigua, was accordingly ordered to proceed to the northward, with a stout squadron, in order to protect the transports, and co-operate with the New England militia; which, to the number of six thousand, were embarked, under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataqua, and landed without opposition within four miles of the place. The besiegers, though inexperienced, were brave: the officers of the marines directed their operations; and commodore Warren, though foiled in every attempt to enter the harbour, was able effectually to cut off all supplies. Seeing no prospect of relief, and threatened with a general assault, the governor, doubtful of the fidelity of his garrison, agreed to surrender the town; and the whole island of Cape Breton, or (as the French pompously called it) *Isle Royale*, immediately submitted to the victors [7]. April 30.

This conquest, the importance of which was much magnified, contributed greatly to confirm the zeal of the friends to the Protestant Succession in Scotland; and if vigorous measures had been taken by government, the rebellion might have been crushed in its birth. But George II. being then at Hanover, the regency appointed, during his absence, slighted every information relative to the enterprize of the young Pretender, until all North Britain was threatened with subjection. They could not believe he would have the hardiness to land without a powerful foreign force; so that

7. Id. ibid. Douglas's *Summary*, vol. ii. Smollett, vol. xi.

Charles's very weakneſs, under the veil of his temerity, may be ſaid to have advanced his progreſs. Deſcending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent, at the head of his hardy and intrepid Highlanders, he took poſſeſſion of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; every where proclaiming his father, the chevalier de St. George, king of Great Britain, and ſeizing the public money for its uſe. At Perth he reviewed his forces, and found them amount to about three thouſand men. Here he was joined by the viſcount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, by the young and ſanguine duke of Perth [8], and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. And the marquis of Tullibardine having taken poſſeſſion of the eſtate of Athol, which his younger brother inherited, as well as the title, in conſequence of *his* attainder, was able to bring ſome acceſſion of ſtrength to the cauſe which he had eſpouſed.

Emboldened by theſe promiſing appearances, the young Pretender proceeded to Dumblane; and having croſſed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, advanced towards Edinburgh, after making a feint of marching to Glaſgow. Meanwhile ſir John Cope, commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland, afraid to face the rebels, marched northward as far as Inverneſs, under pretence of forming a junction with ſome loyal clans; leaving, by that movement, the capital and the whole low country at the mercy of the enemy.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh ſeemed at firſt determined on a bold reſiſtance; but on the nearer approach of the re-

8. The head of this nobleman's family, which was ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Stuart, having accompanied James II. into France, was there created a duke. He himſelf had been educated in that kingdom; and ſucceeding unexpectedly to the family eſtate, he had lately come over to Great Britain. On his arrival, he flew with ardour into all the gaities of the age, and adapted himſelf to every mode of pleaſure, which he purſued with the appearance of giddy diſſipation, while forming the plan of an extenſive rebellion. He was the ſoul of the Jacobite party.

bels, their reſolution began to fail. They were apprehenſive of a general pillage, and even of a maſſacre, if the place ſhould be carried by aſſault, againſt which its ruinous and extenſive walls were but a ſlender ſecurity. The magiſtrates, therefore, entered into treaty with the Pretender for the ſurrender of the town. But before the terms were finally ſettled, a body of Highlanders being treacherouſly admitted at one of the gates in the night, took poſſeſſion of the city guard-houſe; and opening the other gates to new aſſociates, made themſelves maſters of that ancient capital by morning. The caſtle, however, ſtill held out. And thither had been carried, on the approach of the rebels, the treaſure of the two Scottiſh banks, and the moſt valuable effects of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid the fire from the caſtle, which being ſeated on a rock to the weſtward of the town, commands the whole neighbourhood, Charles made a circuit to the eaſt, and took up his reſidence in the palace of Holyrood-houſe, the kingly dwelling of his anceſtors. Here he kept a kind of court; and being attended by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who acted as officers of ſtate, he iſſued an order, with all the formality of lawful authority, for ſolemnly proclaiming his father at the croſs of Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed accordingly; and, at the ſame time, three manifeſtos were read by the purſuivants. In the firſt manifeſto, the old Pretender aſſerted his right to the crown of Scotland, declaimed againſt the Union, lamented the hardſhips to which the Scots had been expoſed in conſequence of it, and complained bitterly of the injuries his faithful Highlanders had ſuffered from the eſtabliſhed government. He promiſed to call a free parliament, to aboliſh the malt-duty, and all other grievous impoſitions and taxes that had been laid on them ſince the Union; to reſtore the Scottiſh nation to its ancient liberty and independency; to protect, ſecure, and maintain all his proteſtant ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their rights, privi-

leges and immunities. By the ſecond manifeſto, he conſtituted his ſon Charles ſole regent of his dominions, and particularly of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during his abſence. The third manifeſto was in the name of the young Pretender; and Charles, after enforcing all that had been ſaid in his father's firſt declaration, commanded obedience to himſelf as Prince-regent [9].

In the mean time general Cope, being joined by ſome well-affected Highlanders, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed at Dunbar, where he was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons, that had retired from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh on the approach of the enemy. Confident of ſucceſs, he began his march toward the capital, with a well-appointed army; but underſtanding that the rebels were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Preſtonpans, having the village of Tranent in his front and the ſea in his rear. His troops, conſiſting of between four and five thouſand men, lay all night on their arms; and early next morning the young Pretender
Sept. 16. advanced in hoſtile array, at the head of about three thouſand undiſciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whoſe furious geſtures and rapid movements, ſeen dimly through the retiring darkneſs, excited unuſual emotions of terror in the hearts of the Engliſh ſoldiers. Theſe emotions were not allowed to ſubſide. Charles himſelf, ſtanding in the firſt line, gave the word of command; and drawing his ſword, threw away the ſcabbard [10]. The Highlanders ruſhed on to the attack like ſo many ſturdy ſavages, regardleſs of the fire of the artillery. The king's troops were thrown into diſorder, and totally routed. The dragoons inſtantly left the field, and could never after be rallied. Five hundred of the foot were killed, and fifteen hundred made priſoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who

9. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol ix. and the Periodical Publications of the times.
10. Id. ibid.

fell

fell covered with many wounds. Never, in a word, was any victory more complete: the military cheſt, cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels.

Had the Pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the Britiſh troops were recalled from Flanders or any foreign ſuccours could be procured, he would probably have accompliſhed the great object of his enterpriſe. But inſtead of taking advantage of the conſternation occaſioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to the palace of Holyrood-houſe, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh proved the Capua of Charles. There, intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and ſeduced by the blandiſhments of the Jacobite ladies, longing for his princely benediction, he wantonly waſted his time, till the critical moment was paſt; while his hungry followers blunted the edge of their ferocity in ſocial indulgencies, or broke the nerve of their courage in fruitleſs efforts to reduce the caſtle, and get poſſeſſion of the public treaſure. Meantime he was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitſligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie. And it was, at laſt, reſolved to march into England.

In conſequence of that reſolution, Charles publiſhed a new manifeſto, ſaid to be compoſed by himſelf, in which he promiſed, in his father's name, all manner of ſecurity to the proteſtant religion and the eſtabliſhed church, and declared that he would paſs any law the parliament ſhould judge neceſſary for that purpoſe. "That the public debt has been "contracted under an *unlawful government*, nobody," ſays he, "can diſown, any more than that it is now a moſt *heavy load* "upon the *nation*: yet, in regard it is due to thoſe very ſub- "jects whom our Royal Father promiſes to protect, cheriſh, "and defend, he is reſolved to take the advice of his parlia- "ment concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part "of a juſt prince, who makes the good of his people the "ſole rule of his actions. Furthermore, we have in his

"name to declare, That the same rule laid down for the "funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act "of parliament since the Revolution; and in so far as, in a "free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will "confirm them." He next declares, that his expedition was undertaken without assistance either from France or Spain; "but" adds he, "when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, "and Swiss, the elector of Hanover's allies, being called "over to protect his government, is it not high time for the "king my father to accept also of the assistance of those "who are able, and who have engaged to support him [11]?"

This declaration had by no means the desired effect. It did not effectually remove the fears of the monied men, in regard to the security of the funds, while it filled the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion. Every one, from some motive or other, seemed attached to the established government. Loyal addresses, from all quarters, were presented to George II. on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, and expressing detestation at the unnatural rebellion.

Nor were these addresses merely complimentary. Above a thousand of the most eminent merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers in the kingdom, in order to support public credit, signed an agreement, That they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any sum due to them, and use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same paper [12]. This was a step of the utmost importance; as it not only prevented the danger of a run upon the bank, but interested many in the defence of the House of Hanover, whose hearts were with the Pretender, or whose minds were wavering.

Other measures conspired to fix the unsteady, and to warm into zeal timid or prudential loyalty. The Habeas Corpus

11. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. 12. Id. ibid. Smollett, vol xi.

act was ſuſpended, and ſeveral perſons were taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. Six thouſand Dutch auxiliaries were landed; and the flower of the Britiſh troops, recalled from Flanders, arrived in England, with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Beſide a number of new regiments, voluntarily raiſed by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were aſſembled; arms were liberally diſtributed to the people, and the whole ſouthern part of the kingdom was put in a poſture of defence.

Notwithſtanding this hoſtile appearance, and the formidable force that was now collected, the young adventurer left Edinburgh, and entered England, by the weſtern border, with only ſix thouſand men; the duke of Perth acting as commander in chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. They immediately inveſted Carliſle; and both the town and caſtle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, ſupported by the inhabitants and ſome companies of regular troops, ſurrendered within three days. Nov. 6.

The whole kingdom was filled with conſternation at the progreſs of the rebels. Terror took poſſeſſion of every heart; and the moſt frightful apprehenſions were, at the ſame time, entertained of an invaſion from France, where great preparations were making for a deſcent in favour of the Pretender. The militia of the maritime counties were drawn toward the coaſt, and ſignals fixed for a general alarm. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was ſtationed with a fleet in the Channel, and effectually blocked up the French ports, prevented the projected invaſion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover, under the cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl mareſchal of Scotland; who, regardleſs himſelf of danger, in what he eſteemed ſo good a cauſe, threw up his commiſſion in diſguſt,

guſt, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out [13].

Meanwhile the rebels, having left a ſmall garriſon in Carliſle, advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaſter and Preſton, took poſſeſſion of Mancheſter, where the Pretender eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. Thinking himſelf now in the heart of his Engliſh intereſt, he promiſed himſelf a great acceſſion of force; but although the inhabitants of Mancheſter received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they ſhewed little inclination to join, and the people of the country ſtill leſs. He was only able to raiſe about two hundred men, who were formed into a regiment, in hopes it would ſoon be completed, under colonel Townly, a Roman catholic gentleman of ſome eminence in that neighbourhood, and who had ſerved in the French army.

Charles, who had been led to ſuppoſe, that as ſoon as he ſhould enter Lancaſhire the majority of the people would flock to his ſtandard, was very much mortified at this backwardneſs in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his diſappointment; and his followers in general wore a good face, though it was known to them, that general Wade, who had aſſembled an army of fourteen thouſand men at Newcaſtle, was advancing through Yorkſhire, and that the duke of Cumberland, aſſiſted by Sir John Ligonier, had taken poſt near Litchfield with thirteen thouſand veteran troops. A council of war was called; and it was reſolved to proceed by the way of Cheſter and Liverpool into Wales, where the Pretender expected a number of adherents. But learning afterward that thoſe two towns were ſecured, and that the bridges over the river Merſey had been broken down, Charles took the route of Stockport and Warington; and paſſing through Macclesfield and Congle-

13. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

ton

ton, turned ſuddenly off by Leeke and Aſhbourn, and unexpectedly entered Derby. There his father was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. Dec. 5.

Having gained, by this rapid movement, a day's march of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the Pretender, who was now within an hundred miles of London, might have made himſelf maſter of the capital, had he proceeded directly forward. And, in that event, the French would probably have been encouraged to attempt a deſcent in his favour; while many well-wiſhers, who ſtill kept at a diſtance, would certainly have joined him, and public credit would have received a terrible ſhock. Yet muſt we not raſhly ſuppoſe that Charles would have been finally ſucceſsful, had he even got poſſeſſion of the metropolis, as an army of thirty thouſand men, firmly attached to the reigning family, could have been aſſembled in the neighbourhood in a few days; in order to watch the motions of the rebels, and cut off the communication between the town and country. And a powerful fleet would have obſtructed all ſupplies by ſea.

The rebels muſt even have hazarded an engagement, before they could have entered the capital; for no ſooner was it known, that, having eluded the vigilance of the duke of Cumberland, they had it in their power to march ſouthward, than orders were given for forming a camp upon Finchly-common, where the king reſolved to take the field in perſon, accompanied by the earl of Stair, commander in chief of the forces in England. And all the regular troops in the neighbourhood of London, the new raiſed regiments, the volunteer companies, the militia, and the trained bands, were commanded to hold themſelves in readineſs for the ſame ſervice. Little reſiſtance, however, could have been made by men enervated by the ſedentary arts, nurſed in the boſom of a voluptuous city, and but ſlightly acquainted with the uſe of arms; whoſe imagination was filled with the moſt frightful ideas of the ſavage ferocity, bodily ſtrength, and irreſiſtible

valour of the Highlanders; while they were apprehenſive, on the other hand, of being every moment overwhelmed by a French invaſion, or maſſacred by an inſurrection of the Roman catholics[14]. They muſt have been broken at the firſt encounter; and as George II. was obſtinately brave, he might have ſunk beneath the arm of his youthful antagoniſt.

Happily things did not come to this extremity. The Pretender had advanced into the heart of England without receiving any conſiderable acceſſion of force, or being joined by any perſon of diſtinction. It appeared as if all the Jacobites in the kingdom had been annihilated. The Welch took no meaſures for exciting an inſurrection in his favour, nor did the French attempt an invaſion for his ſupport. He lay, with a handful of men, between two powerful armies, in the midſt of winter, and in a country hoſtile to him. Having inconſiderately ſpent ſome time at Derby, he could not now enter the metropolis without hazarding a battle with one of thoſe armies, and a defeat muſt have proved fatal to himſelf and all his adherents. It was therefore reſolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland chiefs, to march back into Scotland, where the Pretender's affairs had taken a fortunate turn; although Charles himſelf, the duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for proceeding to London, be the event what it might. And they perhaps were right; eſpecially as they were under the neceſſity of making a retreat in the face of two ſuperior armies; a retreat which, it was to be feared, beſide the danger attending it, would utterly ruin their cauſe in England, and greatly diſpirit their friends in Scotland. A retreat however was attempted; and conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and addreſs, unparalleled in the hiſtory of nations, by any body of men under circumſtances equally adverſe.

14. Id. ibid. Smollett, vol. xi.

On

On the third day after the rebels left Derby, they arrived at Manchester, and proceeded to Preston, without the loss of a single man; though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, the beacons lighted to alarm the country, and detachments of horse sent from both the royal armies to harrass them on their march. They were overtaken, however, at the village of Clifton, near Penrith, by the duke of Cumberland in person, at the head of his cavalry. Lord George Murray, who commanded their rear-guard, composed of the clan of the Macphersons, the most ferocious of all the Highland tribes, threw himself into the village, in order to obstruct the pursuit; and perceiving that the royal army consisted only of cavalry (for which, instead of their former terror, the Highlanders had acquired a contempt, since the battle of Prestonpans), he sent an express after the main body of the rebels, entreating them to return, and hazard an engagement. No regard was paid to his message; yet he resolved to maintain his post. He accordingly put himself in a posture of defence; repulsed a party of horse; combated for an hour a body of dismounted dragoons; and then, having fully accomplished his purpose, proceeded unmolested to the rendezvous of the Pretender at Penrith. Dec. 18.

On the arrival of lord George Murray, it was deliberated by the rebel chiefs, whether they should prosecute their march, or turn back and give battle to the duke of Cumberland, before he could be joined by his infantry. But it appearing upon enquiry, that such a junction might be soon formed, and without their knowledge, they continued their retreat to Carlisle. There they drew up their forces, and seemed determined to wait the approach of their pursuers. Understanding, however, that the duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced by several battalions of foot, and a squadron of horse, from Wade's division, they changed their resolution; and having augmented the garrison of Carlisle, by throwing into the place the Manchester volunteers, they crossed the river

Eden,

Eden, and paſſed into Scotland, without loſing above fifty men, during their whole expedition, by ſickneſs, fatigue, the ſword of the enemy, or leaving one ſtraggler behind them [15].

After the action at Clifton, the duke of Cumberland found it neceſſary to halt, and give his troops, which had been roughly handled, ſome reſpite. He was there joined by his infantry: and his whole army advanced to Carliſle, in three columns. The garriſon, though ill ſupplied with engineers, made a ſhew of reſiſtance; but no ſooner were the batteries opened againſt the place, than the rebels found themſelves under the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. The priſoners, amounting to about four hundred, were committed to cloſe confinement; and the duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he was received with as much eclat as if he had gained a complete victory, every one ſuppoſing that the rebellion was eventually extinguiſhed.

This however, was by no means the caſe. The Pretender's force was yet unbroken; and if the failure of his expedition into England had diſcouraged ſome of his more ſanguine followers, his rapid progreſs and gallant retreat had ſhed new luſtre over his arms. The Engliſh Jacobites, whom fear alone had withheld from joining him, thinking every moment that his ſlender band would be cruſhed, now reproached themſelves for their puſillanimity, in not abetting that cauſe which they loved, and to which their aid might have given the aſcendant. In a word, had he been properly ſupplied with arms, money, and military ſtores, from France, and with what he wanted no leſs, a few able engineers and experienced officers, the conteſt might ſtill have been doubtful whether the houſe of Stuart or that of Hanover ſhould ſit on the throne of Great Britain.

But let us leave theſe political conjectures, and take a view of the ſtate of Scotland, and of the daring adventurer in his courſe.

15. Id. ibid.

Soon

Soon after the rebels left Edinburgh, general Wade, who commanded in the north of England, ſent a body of troops for the protection of that city. The inhabitants of Glaſgow raiſed a regiment for their own defence: other towns followed their example; and all the Argyleſhire Highlanders were in arms for the ſupport of government. The people of the ſouth and weſt of Scotland, animated by the harangues of the preſbyterian clergy, and ſtimulated by their intuitive, or habitual horror againſt popery and arbitrary power, appeared only to increaſe in loyalty during the moſt proſperous fortune of the Pretender. Their zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as ſettled in the family of Brunſwick, became warmer in proportion to his ſucceſs, and the danger to which it ſeemed expoſed; for they paid no regard to his declarations in regard to religion, and very little to thoſe of a civil nature. "Kirk and King!" was the univerſal cry.

The ſtate of affairs was very different in the north of Scotland. The majority of the people, beyond the river Tay, being chiefly Papiſts, Nonjurors, or luke-warm Preſbyterians, were diſpoſed to favour the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of Stuart. But many of the leading men were attached to the reigning family by motives of intereſt, ambition, inclination, gratitude, and exerted themſelves zealouſly for the ſupport of government. One of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of thoſe was Duncan Forbes of Culloden, lord preſident of the Court of Seſſion; a man of extenſive knowledge, great talents, engaging manners, and equally reſpected for his public and private virtues. To him, perhaps, the houſe of Hanover owes its continuance on the throne of Great Britain, and we the enjoyment of our happy conſtitution. He confirmed in their allegiance ſeveral chieftains, who began to waver: ſome he induced by the force of his arguments, to renounce their former principles, and oppoſe that cauſe which they meant to abet; others he perſuaded to remain quiet, from prudential conſiderations. In theſe views he was warmly ſeconded by the earl of Loudon, who commanded the king's forces at Inver-

neſs;

nefs; where he was joined by twelve hundred men, under the earl of Sutherland; by a confiderable number, under lord Rae; and, befide the Grants and Monroes, by a body of hardy iflanders from Skie, under fir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod[16].

Thefe advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the prevailing fpirit of the people, and the activity of a few rebel leaders. At the head of thofe ftood lord Lewis Gordon; who, though his brother, the duke, was in the intereft of government, had been remarkably fuccefsful in arming the retainers of the family, as well as in engaging all difaffected perfons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The earl of Cromartie had raifed a body of men for the fupport of the Pretender; a confiderable fum of money had been received, for his ufe, from Spain; and lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, had landed with a fmall reinforcement, and with liberal promifes of farther affiftance, from France.

Encouraged by thofe flattering appearances, and by the rapid progrefs of the Pretender, lord Lovat, one of the moft extraordinary characters in ancient or modern times, who had long temporized, ordered his fon to put himfelf at the head of his Clan, and repair to the rendezvous of the rebels at Perth[17]. He even fent round his whole eftate the *Fiery Crofs*

16 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

17. Simon Frafer, lord Lovat, was born with infinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Utterly deftitute of principle, and defpifing veracity as an ufelefs quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate intereft, and all his words to the deceitful purpofe of drawing the credulous into his views. And although his natural addrefs was homely, his perfonal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too obvious to efcape the obfervation even of the weak and the vain; it was too ftrongly applied to be refifted entirely by men of the moft moderate tempers, and of the foundeft underftanding. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearlefs in the execution of them. In 1697, he had entered, with an armed band, the houfe of a woman of quality, feized her perfon, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured, with the found of a bag pipe, to

Crofs, or general denunciation of fpoil, fword, and fire, made by the Highland chiefs againft fuch of their vaffals as fhould refufe to take arms at their command. Near a thoufand Frafers were inftantly levied, and the Mafter of Lovat invefted Fort Auguftus. The earl of Loudon marched to the

to drown her cries; and having ftripped her naked, by cutting off her ftays with his dirk or dagger, he forced her to bed, and confummated the pretended marriage amid the noife and riot of his barbarous attendants.

Obliged to abandon the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other violences, Frafer found means to obtain a pardon from king William; to ingratiate himfelf with the court of St. Germains, by becoming a catholic; and was employed by the court of France in attempting to raife a rebellion in Scotland in 1703. For that purpofe he was furnifhed with proper credentials by the Pretender; but inftead of making ufe of thofe for the reftoration of the exiled family, he difcovered the whole plot to the Englifh government, and returned to France, in order to procure more full proofs of the guilt of the principal confpirators. His treachery being there difcovered, he was thrown into the Baftile, where he remained fome months, and muft have fuffered the punifhment due to his crimes, but for his confummate diffimulation. He had the addrefs to make it believed, that all he had done was for the intereft of the Pretender; and on his return to Great Britain, his fufferings in France recommended him not only to the protection but the favour of government.

In 1715, Lovat was highly ferviceable to the houfe of Hanover, by affifting in the fuppreffion of the rebellion; and becoming afterward a perfonal favourite of George I. he was nobly rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the fcheme of erecting himfelf into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending, that if he had the diftribution of twenty-five thoufand pounds annually among the heads of the Clans, he could effectually prevent all their future infurrections, and draw them infenfibly into the interefts of the reigning family. Difappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwife difgufted with the eftablifhed government, he again relapfed into Jacobitifm; and concluding that the young Pretender would be fupported by a powerful foreign force, he was at no pains to conceal his principles. But when Charles landed without fuch force, Lovat refufed to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he induftrious in arming his Clan; in order, as is fuppofed, to procure a pardon for his treafonous fpeeches and practices, by throwing his intereft into the fcale of goverment, if the unexpected fuccefs of the Pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See *Stuart Papers*, *Lockhart's Mem.* *Lovat's Trial.*

relief of that place, and raised the siege. But this success was more than balanced by that of lord Lewis Gordon, who surprised and routed the laird of Macleod, and Monro of Culcairn, at Inverury, and obliged them to repass the Spey; so that the rebels were now masters of the whole country, from that river to the Frith of Forth, and every where imposed contributions on the inhabitants, and seized the royal revenue.

Meanwhile the Pretender, on leaving England, understanding that Edinburgh was secured by a fresh army, had proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, and imposed a heavy contribution on that loyal city. After making a hasty but oppressive tour through the neighbouring country, he directed his march to Stirling, where he was joined by the French troops, under lord John Drummond; by the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat; and by lord Lewis Gordon and his victorious followers. It was now resolved to invest that town and castle; the latter being of great importance, by commanding the bridge over the river Forth. The town, which is almost naked and defenceless, surrendered as soon as a battery was opened against it; but the castle, defended by a good garrison, under the command of general Blakeney, still held out, and continued to baffle all the attempts of the rebels.

A. D. 1746. Jan. 8.

The taking of the town of Stirling was therefore, in itself, an event of little moment. Yet, when connected with the miraculous escape of the Pretender from two royal armies, and the great increase of his adherents during his bold expedition to the southern parts of the kingdom, it served to occasion fresh alarm in England; especially as it was considered as a prelude to the reduction of the citadel, the key of the communication between the north and south of Scotland. Nothing was thought impossible for Charles and his sturdy Highlanders, who seemed to be at once invulnerable, and proof against the rage of the elements.

General Hawley, an experienced officer, who had been appointed

appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland in the room of sir John Cope, was ordered instantly to assemble an army, and proceed to the relief of Stirling castle. Hawley, who was naturally brave, confident, and even presumptuous, having under him major-general Huske, brigadier Cholmondeley, brigadier Mordaunt, and several other officers of distinction, advanced accordingly to Falkirk at the head of near ten thousand men, beside the Argyleshire Highlanders and Glasgow volunteers; and having a contemptible idea of the rebels, whom he had boasted he would drive from one end of the kingdom to the other with two regiments of dragoons, he gave himself little trouble to enquire after their numbers or disposition.

The Pretender's army consisted of about eight thousand men, and lay concealed in Torwood. Informed that the enemy were in motion in order to take possession of some rising grounds in the neighbourhood of his camp, Hawley commanded his cavalry to cut them in pieces. But the event proved very different from what he expected. The horse being suddenly broken, recoiled upon the foot, and a total rout ensued. Abandoning their tents, with part of their artillery and baggage, the king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, after attempting in vain to make a stand at Falkirk. They left upon the field of battle near five hundred slain, among whom were an unusual number of officers: and about three hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the rebels [18].

Jan. 17.

Had the victorious Charles, during the consternation occasioned by this second blow, again boldly entered England, he might possibly have taken up his winter-quarters in the capital; or had he marched with the main body of his army toward Inverness, he might have crushed the earl of Loudon, disarmed the loyal Clans, doubled the number of his adherents, and made himself absolute master of all the North

18. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

of Scotland. But his heart being ſet on the reduction of Stirling caſtle, he loſt ſight of every other object. He therefore returned to the ſiege of that fortreſs; and after having in vain attempted to carry it by aſſault, the mode of attack moſt agreeable to his followers, and for which they were beſt adapted, he obſtinately perſiſted in erecting batteries, in opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in the depth of winter, to the great diſſatisfaction of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in diſguſt to their native mountains.

While the Pretender was thus waſting his time, and breaking the ſpirit of his adherents, in theſe fruitleſs, impolitic, and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of freſh troops. William duke of Cumberland was appointed to command it: and the affairs of government ſoon began to wear a new face. Though unſucceſsful in Flanders, and conſidered by profeſſional men as no great maſter in the military art, the duke of Cumberland was adored by the ſoldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was hoped, would at once intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops.

Experience proved this conjecture to be well founded. On the arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh, he was received with the warmeſt expreſſions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer by the loyal party. The preſbyterian preachers went yet farther: they repreſented him as a ſaviour ſent of God for the protection of his choſen people, and to take vengeance on his father's enemies. Firmneſs and confidence every where took place of irreſolution and deſpondency; and ſuch of the Jacobites as had not yet taken up arms, foreſeeing the ruin of their prince's cauſe, remained quiet.

As ſoon as William had collected his army, amounting to about fourteen thouſand horſe and foot, he advanced toward the

the enemy. Charles at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to hazard a battle. But the Highlanders being much fatigued and diſguſted with the ſiege of Stirling caſtle, upon which they could make no impreſſion, and in the different attacks on which they had loſt a number of men, the Pretender reſolved, by the advice of his moſt experienced officers, to abandon all his poſts on this ſide of the Spey, and proceed northward, as a fugitive inſtead of a conqueror. He was able, however, to make himſelf maſter of Invernefs, Fort George, and Fort Auguſtus; and to oblige the earl of Loudon to take refuge in the iſle of Skie. In a word, his preſent ſucceſs ſhewed what he might have done, had he taken this route during his good fortune, when every heart was big with hope. The well-affected Clans, as they were called, who now made but a feeble reſiſtance, would then have joined him almoſt to a man: and many perſons of diſtinction, who ſtill wore the maſk of loyalty, would have repaired to his ſtandard. But impolitic as Charles had been, he was yet formidable; and a more perfect knowledge of the advantages of his ſituation was only perhaps neceſſary, to have enabled him to repel all the efforts of his competitor.

In the meantime, the duke of Cumberland being joined by ſix thouſand Heſſians, that had been landed at Leith[19] ſoon after his departure from Edinburgh, left two battalions in Stirling, four in Perth, and proceeded to Aberdeen with the main body of his army. During his ſtay there, he was indefatigable in exerciſing his troops, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, and in providing for the ſecurity of the country; and as ſoon as the weather would permit, he aſſembled his forces and began his march for Invernefs, where the rebels had eſtabliſhed their head-

April 8.

19. Theſe troops were ſent over from Flanders to replace the ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, which France inſiſted ſhould be recalled, as part of the reduced garriſon of Tournay, and rendered incapable, by the articles of capitulation, of ſerving againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty or his allies for eighteen months.

quarters. Contrary to all expectation, he was permitted to pass the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition, though about three thousand Highlanders appeared on the northern side, and the banks were steep and difficult of ascent. It was not timidity, however, but the presumptuousness of their leaders, that restrained the rebels from disputing the passage of the royal army; a resolution having been taken in a council of war, in spite of many sound arguments to the contrary, to leave the fords of the Spey open; and for this very extraordinary reason, That the greater number of the king's troops that should pass the river, the fewer would escape, as the sanguine adherents of Charles entertained no doubt of being able to cut off the whole.

Romantic, however, as this idea appears, and unwise the maxim on which it was founded, it might possibly have been realized, had the Pretender afterward followed the advice of the more cool and experienced Highland chieftains. Had he resolved to act only on the defensive, and continued to retire northward, disputing every defile with his pursuers, until he had led the royal army into mountains, where its cavalry could not subsist, and whither its artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage-waggons could not be drawn, he might at least have obliged the duke of Cumberland to retire in his turn; especially as the Highlanders, from their knowledge of the country, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, the number of live cattle, and their own spare diet, could there have found subsistence for a considerable time. And the glory connected with the retreat of the king's troops, independent of every other advantage which might have resulted from such a line of conduct, would have been of infinite service to the Pretender's cause.

But Charles, who had imbibed, from his hot-headed Irish adherents, false notions of military honour, thought it would be disgraceful to retire any farther before his antagonist. He therefore determined to hazard an engagement; though the royal army was not only, in all respects, better appointed,

pointed, but ſuperior in numbers, by at leaſt one third, to that of his undiſciplined followers. And having failed in an attempt to ſurpriſe the enemy at Nairn during the night, he marched back to his camp on Culloden moor; where, ſeemingly in a fit of deſperation, it was reſolved by the rebel chiefs, fatigued as their men were, to wait the approach of the king's forces, in order of battle [20].

The duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning, and came in ſight of the rebels about noon. They were drawn up in thirteen diviſions under their reſpective leaders, with four pieces of cannon before their centre, where was ſtationed the Pretender, and the ſame number on each wing. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army in three lines, diſpoſed in excellent order for reſiſting the fierce attack of the rebels; ſeveral pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every ſecond rank inſtructed to reſerve its fire: ſo that when the Highlanders, having thrown away their muſkets, according to cuſtom, advanced with their broad-ſwords, they were not only received upon the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of muſketry, and blown into the air by a concealed artillery. The event was ſuch as William had promiſed himſelf. The rebel army, after an ineffectual ſtruggle of thirty minutes, was totally routed, and chaſed off the field

April 16.

20. The followers of Charles had indeed much cauſe for chagrin. They had hoped to attack the king's troops while buried in ſleep and ſecurity, after celebrating the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Lord George Murray undertook to conduct the enterpriſe, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs; when, after a march of ſeven miles, one of the three diviſions, into which the rebel army was formed, loſt its way, through the darkneſs of the night. The other two diviſions advanced two miles farther, and within a mile of the royal army, where lord George Murray ſuſpecting, as is ſaid, from the neighing of a horſe, that they were diſcovered, ordered a retreat. (*Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*) On this, the Pretender exclaimed that he was betrayed; and the rebels returned to their camp, unperceived, by eight o'clock in the morning; mortified with their diſappointment, and ſtung with the reproach of their prince, whoſe ſanguine ſpirit would, on that occaſion, have been a better guide than the timid caution, if not the treachery, of his general.

with great ſlaughter. The king's troops, but eſpecially the dragoons, irritated by their former diſgraces, and the fatigues of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. Near two thouſand of the rebels were killed in the battle and purſuit, and only three hundred and ten of the royal army [21].

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, nor any more important in its conſequences. All the Pretender's hopes, and even his courage, ſeemed to abandon him with his good fortune. Having too ſoon left the field of battle, he was adviſed by lord Lovat to return and rally his forces: he promiſed, but declined compliance. And although two thouſand of his faithful Highlanders reſolutely aſſembled at Fort Auguſtus, and a body of the Lowlanders at Ruthven, in order to know his commands; though a ſhip arrived from France with forty thouſand pounds ſterling in ſpecie; and near a thouſand men, who had not been at the battle of Culloden, were ready to join him, he deſired them all to diſperſe, and wandered himſelf under various diſguiſes, in woods and wilds, a wretched fugitive, deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life, and in danger every moment of falling into the hands of his enemies. At length, after ſuffering the moſt incredible hardſhips, during five months, in the Highlands and Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, whither he was chaſed by his blood-thirſty purſuers, a price of thirty thouſand pounds being ſet upon his head; after having entruſted the ſecret of his life to above fifty different perſons, many of whom were in low condition, and who knew, that by betraying him they ſhould be enabled to live in affluence [22], he was taken on

21. London *Gazette,* April 26, 1746. *Contin.* Rapin, ubi ſup. Smollett, vol. xi.

22. One poor gentleman, who had no ſhare in the rebellion, but whoſe humanity had led him to adminiſter to the neceſſities of Charles, being apprehended and carried before a court of juſtice, was aſked, How he dared to aſſiſt the king's greateſt enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal ſubject, he did not deliver up the Pretender, and claim the reward offered by government

on board a French frigate, and safely landed on the coast of Brittany.

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, whose name is said to have been Mackenzie, contributed greatly to the escape of the Pretender. About the 20th of July, when Charles had fled for safety to the top of the mountain of Mamnyncallum, in Lochaber, the king's troops surprised a party of his followers in a hut, on the side of the mountain, and obliged them to surrender, after an obstinate resistance. One young man, however, made his escape. The prisoners assured the commanding officer that this was the Pretender. Animated by the prospect of an immense reward, the soldiers eagerly pursued, and at last overtook the fugitive. They desired him to submit, as resistance would be ineffectual; and intimated that they knew who he was. He seemed to acquiesce in their mistake, but refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince!"—Independent of these generous expressions, the person slain resembled so much, in all respects, the description of the Pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther pursuit: and although government pretended to discredit the report, a general belief of the Pretender's death prevailed, and little search was thenceforth made after him[23].

Charles was caressed for a time at the court of France, as there was yet a possibility of his being of farther use; but no

government for his person? "I only gave him," replied the prisoner, "what nature seemed to require, a night's lodging, and an humble repast. "And who among my judges, though poor as I am, would have sought to "acquire riches, by violating the rights of hospitality, in order to earn the "price of blood?" The court was filled with confusion and amazement at the simple eloquence of this untutored orator: the suit was dismissed, and the prisoner set at liberty.—So much stronger an impression does fellow-feeling and the sense of natural equity make on the human breast, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greatest rewards or the severest punishments!

23. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

sooner

fooner was the peace concluded, than he was configned to the moft perfect neglect, and condemned to fufferings more fevere than any he had yet experienced. On his refufing to depart the kingdom, he was feized by a party of the guards, pinioned, and conducted to the frontiers, in violation of the moft folemn engagements[24]; a perfidy for which the articles of peace could be no apology, as France had the power of dictating the ftipulations of the treaty. He was ruined and betrayed, like many of his anceftors, by thofe in whom he confided; and with his fortunes, perifhed the laft hopes of the family of Stuart, and of their adherents in the Britifh dominions.

The Pretender's fufferings muft have been much aggravated by thofe of his unhappy adherents, unlefs we fuppofe him devoid of all the feelings of humanity, and of all fentiments of generous fympathy. Immediately after the battle of Culloden, the royal army entered the rebel country, which was cruelly laid wafte with fire and fword. All the cattle and provifions were carried off. The men, hunted down like wild beafts upon the mountains, were fhot on the fmalleft refiftance: and not a hut was left ftanding to fhelter the miferable women and children from the inclemency of the weather. They were left to perifh of hunger and cold on the barren heaths. In a few weeks, all appearance of rebellion, and almoft of population, being exterminated in the Highlands, the duke of Cumberland returned to London as a conqueror; leaving his victorious army, formed into twenty-feven divifions, or flying camps, to take vengeance on the furviving fugitives.

A new fcene of horror was now exhibited. The afperity of juftice threatened with deftruction all whom the relentlefs fword had fpared. And although moft of the Highland chiefs had made their efcape beyond fea, and many of their followers, the number of rebel prifoners of diftinction that

24. Voltaire, *Siec. Louis XV.* chap. xxv.

fuffered

ſuffered death was great beyond example, for ſome centuries, in this iſland. Courts being opened in different parts of England for their trial, where they could have procured no evidence in their favour, had they been innocent, and where every accuſer was admitted, ſmall poſſibility remained to them of eſcaping puniſhment. Seventeen rebel officers were accordingly condemned, and executed at Kennington common, in the neighbourhood of London; nine at Carliſle, ſix at Brumpton, ſeven at Penrith, and eleven at York. They all behaved with the greateſt firmneſs, and ſeemed to glory in dying for the cauſe they had eſpouſed. A few received pardons, and the common men were tranſported to the plantations[25].

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, at the interceſſion of his lady; the other three were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, a nobleman of elegant accompliſhments, but deſperate fortune, and who had been educated in the principles of the Revolution, died with ſtrong marks of penitence, either from ſorrow at having acted contrary to conſcience, or in hopes of a pardon; it being obſerved, that he lifted his head from the block, and looked anxiouſly around, before the fatal blow was ſtruck. Balmerino, who had been bred a ſoldier, and who had obeyed the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more reſolute manner. He ſeemed even to exult in his ſufferings; but checked his natural boldneſs, leſt it ſhould appear indecent on ſuch an occaſion. Lovat, after trying every expedient to ſave his life, avowed his Jacobitiſm, and died, not only with compoſure, but dignity; feeling the axe, ſurveying the croud, and exclaiming, in ſeeming triumph,

25. Smollett, vol. xi. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

Dulce

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!

"'Tis great, 'tis noble, thrones usurp'd to shake,
"And sweet to die for our dear country's sake[26]."

Thus was extinguished a rebellion, which, from small beginnings, rose to an alarming height; and, at one time, threatened a revolution in the state. In order more effectually to eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, and break the refractory spirit of the Highlanders, the heads of Clans were deprived of their exclusive hereditary jurisdiction, which they had abused; and people of all ranks were prohibited, by act of parliament, from wearing the ancient dress of their country[27].

26. A sentiment so sublime, from the mouth of a man, who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whose sole object was self-interest, forms a severe satire on the common pretensions to patriotism.

27. This act has been since repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. And it is truly extraordinary it should ever have been supposed, that men would become more loyal or submissive because they were compelled to wear breeches.

LETTER XXX.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *from the Treaty of* DRESDEN, *in December* 1745, *to the Peace of* AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, *in* 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslaw, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of the contending powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, determined to push his conquests in the Low Countries; and the

A. D. 1745.

the king of Great Britain, enraged at Lewis for supporting a pretender to his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elated with the exaltation of her husband to the imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself, that the Circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take up arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, all Flanders might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon yet completely humbled.

Of all the hostile powers, the king of France was first in readiness to carry his designs into execution. Mareschal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands, in the beginning of February. Lewis XV. joined his victorious army, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men, in the month of April, and obliged the allies under Bathiani, to retire first to Antwerp, and afterward to Breda. Antwerp was invested, and reduced in a few days. Nothing could withstand the French artillery directed by Lowendahl, or the army conducted by Saxe. Mons, reckoned one of the strongest towns in the world, held out only a few weeks. St. Guislain and Charleroy were also obliged to submit; and by the 10th of July, Lewis saw himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant and Hainault.

A. D. 1746.

Before this time, prince Charles of Lorraine had assumed the command of the confederate army; which being reinforced with ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, three British regiments, and twenty five thousand Hungarians under count Palfi, now amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Concluding that Namur would be the next object of the French monarch, the prince of Lorraine

raine marched toward that place, and occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood, within sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Mareschal Saxe, who greatly surpassed in abilities all the generals of the allies, not judging it prudent to attack them in so strong a situation, attempted by other means to accomplish the designs of his master. He accordingly reduced Dinant, in the bishoprick of Liege, and thereby acquired the command of the navigation of the Maese above Namur; while Lowendahl, by his direction, took Huy, a town and castle of great importance on the same river, and there seized a large magazine belonging to the confederates.

In consequence of the reduction of those two places, the French became masters of the navigation of the Maese; and by cutting off the communication of the confederates with Maestricht, obliged prince Charles, from scarcity of provisions, to quit his post, and abandon Namur to its fate. This place, rendered famous by many sieges, is situated, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maese. The citadel is built upon a steep rock; and twelve other forts, on the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seem to render it inaccessible to any attack. The garrison consisted of nine thousand Dutch and Austrians, who defended the works with equal skill and resolution; yet so powerful and well-directed was the fire of the French artillery, that the town was forced to surrender on the sixth, and the citadel on the sixteenth day of the siege.

Meanwhile the confederate army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, being reinforced by some Bavarian and British battalions under sir John Ligonier, prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the detachment that conducted the siege of Namur. With this view he passed the Maese, and advanced toward the French camp; but found

mareſchal Saxe ſo advantageouſly poſted at Tongres, that he judged it prudent to march back to Maeſtricht. He was ſeverely harraſſed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great ſpirit, and at laſt even repulſed their purſuers.

But the enterpriſing Saxe, having ſoon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, paſſed the Jaar at the head of the whole French army; and the allies, ſenſible that he meant to attack them, took poſſeſſion of the villages of Leirs, Warem, and Roucoux. They drew up their forces in order of battle, and made every preparation for receiving him. At break of day, the French army advanced in three columns, and about noon a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock the prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and againſt whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked, at the ſame time, by fifty-five battalions, in brigades. As ſoon as one brigade was repulſed, another advanced; ſo that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being, by an unaccountable neglect, in a great meaſure deſtitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above an hundred pieces of cannon, were at laſt obliged to abandon the villages, and retreat toward Maeſtricht. They loſt five thouſand men; and the French, who did not attempt to purſue them, near ten thouſand. With this battle, in which the Auſtrians had little ſhare, and which was attended with no important conſequences, the operations of the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies, diſſatisfied with the iſſue of the action, and as if aſhamed of ſuch an idle waſte of blood, went ſoon after into winter-quarters.

Oct. 1.

Happily for the allies, the houſe of Bourbon was leſs ſucceſsful this ſummer in Italy, though artful meaſures had been taken during the winter, to acquire an abſolute ſuperiority over the houſe of Auſtria in that country; where Don

Philip

Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them the preceding campaign, were ſtill at the head of powerful armies. Lewis XV. was no ſooner informed of the defection of the king of Pruſſia, than he made, without conſulting the court of Madrid, advantageous propoſals to the king of Sardinia; and theſe propoſals were accepted, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſigned[1]. But Lewis had ſoon reaſon to repent of his raſhneſs. The king, or rather the queen of Spain who was ſtill at the head of the adminiſtration, enraged at any diſmemberment of the poſſeſſions intended for the infant Don Philip, reproached the king of France with a breach of the treaty of Fontainbleau; and although matters were afterward adjuſted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia, though ſo far advanced, broken off, their intereſts ſuffered ſeverely by this miſunderſtanding, which produced a temporary jealouſy between the French and Spaniſh armies. An almoſt total inaction was the conſequence; and that inaction gave riſe to new jealouſies, and mutual accuſations, which led to the greateſt misfortunes.

Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, the moſt politic prince of his time, having in vain ſolicited the ſigning of the definitive treaty with France, made himſelf maſter of Aſti, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Italy, which was garriſoned with five

1. This treaty, which ſecured to Don Philip, beſide Parma and Placentia, a ſhare of the duchy of Milan and all Cremona, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independency of Italy. It therefore provided, That no Italian ſtate ſhould be united to the crown of France, Spain, or the imperial crown. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.) Such a policy was perfectly ſound, and conſiſtent with the character and ſituation of the king of Sardinia as one of the Italian princes, but treacherous as one of the confederate and ſubſidiary powers. Yet has the fidelity of his Sardinian Majeſty been univerſally extolled, becauſe this treaty, to which he poſitively acceded, and other ſecret negociations and intrigues in which he was engaged, and which were defeated by accidental circumſtances, have hitherto remained in a great meaſure unknown. So precarious a thing is human virtue! and ſo little connexion often have the ſeemingly meritorious actions of men with the ſentiments of honour, or the real motives that influence their conduct.

thouſand

thousand French troops. The pretext aſſigned for this violation of his engagements was, the danger of the citadel of Milan falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who were preparing to beſiege it; but his true motive was, a deſire of recovering the confidence of his old, or of bringing matters to a criſis with his new allies. The ſucceſs of the meaſure exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was ſtill amuſed with aſſurances of friendſhip. Don Philip accuſed Maillebois of treachery, for not attempting to cover Aſti [2]. And the Spaniards, having no reliance on their allies, immediately raiſed the ſiege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, afraid that his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Auſtrians, whoſe ſtrength increaſed every day in Italy, evacuated all the countries in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Auſtrian army, under prince Lichtenſtein, now amounted to forty thouſand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-ſix thouſand. Having no formidable enemy to oppoſe them, by reaſon of the miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmonteſe fortreſſes; and entering the duchy of Milan, drove Maillebois from Novi, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guaſtalla, Parma, and other places. Mean time, a reconciliation having been brought about between the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Don Philip at Placentia, and a reſolution was taken to force the Auſtrian camp at St. Lazaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made and ſupported with great intrepidity; but ſo maſterly was the conduct of prince Lichtenſtein, and ſo obſtinate the

2. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. And he would have ordered that general to be arreſted, had his heat not been moderated by the count de Gages, who commanded under him. Id. ibid.

courage of the Auſtrians, that the aſſailants were compelled to retire, after a bloody conteſt of nine hours, leaving ſix thouſand men dead on the field, and about an equal number wounded.

Soon after this diſaſter, Don Philip and his aſſociates received intelligence of an event which threw them into new perplexity; namely, the death of Philip V. of Spain. Weak, but virtuous, he was governed ſucceſſively by two ambitious women, who infuſed freſh ſpirit into the Spaniſh councils, and rouſed him, notwithſtanding his natural indolence, to the moſt vigorous meaſures and moſt arduous enterpriſes. The firſt prince of the houſe of Bourbon, who ſat upon the Spaniſh throne, under his reign, the ſlumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the ſplendour of the monarchy. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ferdinand VI. who at firſt embraced with ardour the principles of the union between to the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, and reſolved ſteadily to purſue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farneſe, the queen-dowager, who ſtill directed the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, however, ignorant of the ſentiments of the new king in regard to the Italian war, and hard preſſed by the allies, were deſirous of ſecuring a communication with France. A retreat was accordingly agreed upon. This was thought a deſperate expedient, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Auſtrian army, and aſſumed the chief command. But without the aſſurance of immediate ſupport, it was perhaps the beſt that could be adopted in ſuch circumſtances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being ſhut up between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia, by a vaſtly ſuperior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, ſon of the mareſchal of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear; yet could they not prevent the king of Sardinia from

from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Fredo, where they behaved with great gallantry, but ſuſtained a ſevere loſs. The ſurrender of Placentia, which was defended by four thouſand men, under the marquis de Caſtello, was the conſequence of this victory.

The Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, aſſiſted by the generals Botta and Brown (prince Lichtenſtein having been obliged to retire on account of his ill ſtate of health) now advanced, to Tortona, which was ſurrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took ſhelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here it was expected they would have made a ſtand, as that city, by its ſituation, is very capable of defence. But the marquis de las Minas, who had ſucceeded the count de Gages in the command under Don Philip, did not judge it prudent to hazard the loſs of the remains of the Spaniſh army. Maillebois concurred in his opinion; ſo that the Genoeſe, after repeated aſſurances of ſupport, were abandoned to their fate. Don Philip retired toward Savoy, which was ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and Maillebois into Provence.

The retreat of the French and Spaniards was immediately followed by the ſurrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was ſubjected to the moſt humiliating conditions, and the proud city loaded with oppreſſive and arbitrary contributions. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, the Auſtrian general, to whom the command of the place was committed, exceeded all deſcription. And he was encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna; which, deaf to the ſupplications of a diſtreſſed people, ſeemed determined to reduce the Genoeſe to the loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs. His moſt cruel exactions, and even thoſe of Coteck, the commiſſary-general, who ſurpaſſed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate.

The Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies having now no enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed, for a time, in deliberating toward what quarter they ſhould turn

their arms. Botta, who knew how much the heart of his miſtreſs was ſet upon recovering Naples, propoſed that the Genoeſe ſhould be compelled to furniſh tranſports for invading that kingdom. And had ſuch invaſion been inſtantly undertaken, it could not have failed of ſucceſs, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beſide thoſe in the army of Don Philip.

The conſequences of ſuch a conqueſt to Great Britain would have been of the utmoſt importance. Spain, in that event, would have been under the neceſſity of deſerting France, and concluding a ſeparate peace. And ſhe would have been obliged to purchaſe it with the ſacrifice of her moſt valuable commercial intereſts, by giving up her excluſive right to the trade of her American dominions. The two great branches of the houſe of Bourbon would have been diſunited; and England and Auſtria would have given law to France, after having obtained their own conditions from the Catholic king [3].

But the king of Sardinia had other intereſts to manage. He deſired nothing leſs than to ſee the houſe of Auſtria all-powerful in Italy. He therefore perſuaded the court of London, which held the purſe, and conſequently took the lead, in the courſe of a long and expenſive war, That it would be more advantageous to the common cauſe to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the Britiſh fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Marſeilles, might ſpeedily be reduced. The conſent of the court of Vienna was obtained, and count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thouſand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he laid the whole country under contribution; while baron Roth inveſted Antibes, which was at the ſame time bombarded by a Britiſh ſquadron, under vice-admiral Medley. But the mareſchal de Belleiſle, a man fruitful in reſources, and intimately acquainted with the whole ſcience of war, having ſucceeded Maille-

3. *Mem.* de Noailles, tom. iv. *Memoire ſur les Affaires d'Italie.*

bois

bois in the command of the French army, ſo effectually cut off the proviſions of the invaders, and otherwiſe harraſſed them, that the Auſtrian general, though able, active, and enterpriſing, found himſelf under the neceſſity of repaſſing the Var; and the ſiege of Antibes was relinquiſhed, after many fruitleſs efforts both by ſea and land, the place being gallantly defended by the chevalier de Sade.

The utter failure of this expedition was partly owing to a very ſingular change of fortune in Italy. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to deſpair by the oppreſſions of the Auſtrians, had riſen againſt their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they ſeemed inſpired with all their ancient ſpirit of liberty, when they felt the galling fetters of ſlavery, and reſolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had wanted valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpoſe by ſome of the ſenators, who alſo directed their meaſures, they flew to arms, determined to periſh to a man, rather than live any longer in ſuch a cruel and ignominious ſervitude. And ſo firm was their perſeverance in this reſolution, and ſo vigorous the impulſe by which they were actuated, that the marquis de Botta, after having ſuſtained great loſs, in a variety of ſtruggles, and been driven from every important poſt, was obliged finally to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoeſe ſtop here: they took the moſt effectual ſteps for their future ſecurity, conſcious that they were ſtill ſurrounded by their oppreſſors.

The naval tranſactions of this year do little honour to the Britiſh flag. Nothing of any importance happened in the Weſt Indies. In the Eaſt Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded ſix ſtout ſhips, ſhamefully declined a ſecond engagement with a French ſquadron of equal or inferior force; and la Bourdonnais, the French commander, in conſequence of Peyton's cowardice, made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh ſettlement at Madras, on the coaſt of Coromandel. No event of any conſequence happened on the coaſt of

North America, though the campaign in that quarter seemed big with the greatest revolutions.

The British ministry, encouraged by the taking of Louisbourgh, and the consequent conquest of the island of Cape Breton, had projected the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New France, situated on the river St. Laurence, and accessible to ships of the greatest force. Intelligence to this purpose was accordingly sent to the governors of the English colonies in North America, and a body of provincial troops was raised, in order to favour the attempt. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portsmouth, and every thing seemed to promise success. But the sailing of the fleet and transports was postponed, by unaccountable delays, till the season of action in those climates was past. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprise, that the armament might not seem altogether useless to the nation. A descent was made on the coast of France, in hopes of surprising Port l'Orient, the repository of the stores belonging to the French East India company. But this project also failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and shewing the possibility of hurting France in her very vitals, by means of such an armament, if well appointed and vigorously conducted. Lestock, who commanded the fleet, did not properly second the efforts of the army; which being beside destitute of heavy cannon, could make no impression on the place [4].

The French miscarried in an enterprise of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Brest for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis. It consisted of near forty ships of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ships, and fifty-six transports, laden with provisions and military stores, and carrying three thousand five hundred land forces, and forty thousand stand of

4. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

ſmall arms, for the uſe of the Canadians and Indians in the French intereſt, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet ſailed in June, but did not reach the coaſt of Nova Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed on board the tranſports; and the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated ſtorms, and either wrecked or diſperſed. D'Anville, the admiral, made his way with a few ſhips to Quebec; while de la Jonquier, who commanded the land-forces, and had boaſted that he would ſubdue all the Engliſh ſettlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to a handful, returned to France without attempting any thing [5].

The court of Verſailles having diſcovered a ſeeming deſire of peace, a congreſs was opened at Breda, toward the cloſe of the campaign; but the French were ſo inſolent in their demands, that the conferences were ſoon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increaſe of vigour and animoſity. The States General, who had hitherto acted a ſhamefully timid and diſingenuous part, more hurtful than beneficial to the cauſe they pretended to aid, now became ſeriouſly ſenſible of their danger, and of the neceſſity of a cloſer alliance with the courts of London and Vienna, or of throwing themſelves into the arms of France, reſolved to take effectual meaſures for oppoſing the deſigns of that powerful and ambitious neighbour. With this view, they engaged to augment their quota of troops, in the Netherlands, to forty thouſand: the king of Great Britain agreed to furniſh an equal number; and the empreſs-queen, ſupported by Britiſh money, promiſed to ſend ſixty thouſand Auſtrians to act in conjunction with them. Beſide this grand army, intended to ſet bounds to the conqueſts of Lewis XV. an army of ninety thouſand Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under the king of Sardinia, another ſovereign in Britiſh pay, was to enter Pro-

5. Millott. Voltaire.

vence, while a ſmaller body ſhould keep the king of Naples in awe.

Nor was the houſe of Bourbon unprepared for ſuch a competition. The king of France had ordered an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men to be aſſembled in the Netherlands; and, in order to give greater firmneſs to this immenſe force, he renewed in the perſon of mareſchal Saxe the title of *Mareſchal de Camp Generale*, which had been conferred on the famous Turenne, and which gave him a ſuperiority over all the mareſchals of France, and even princes of the blood. The Spaniſh army, under Don Philip in Savoy, was conſiderably augmented, and ſixty thouſand French troops were appointed to act in Provence. A final trial of ſtrength ſeemed reſolved on by all parties.

The grand army of the confederates took the field, in three bodies, toward the end of March. The duke of Cumberland, with the Britiſh troops, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, fixed his head quarters at Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant; the prince of Waldec, with the troops of the States-general, was poſted at Breda; and mareſchal Bathiani aſſembled the Auſtrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army, which amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, lay inactive for ſix weeks, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and almoſt deſtitute of forage and proviſions; while mareſchal Saxe, ſenſible that the firſt care of a general is the health of his ſoldiers, kept his troops warm within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Bruſſels, furniſhed with plenty of every thing, and under no neceſſity of encountering unavailing fatigues. This inactivity, which is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the negligence of the Dutch and Auſtrian commiſſaries, deprived the confederates of all the advantages they had promiſed themſelves from an early campaign, beſide damping the ardour of the troops, and weakening them by ſickneſs.

A. D. 1747.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile marefchal Saxe, having fettled with the French miniftry the plan of operations, took the field at the head of a prodigious army; and immediately detached count Loendahl, with twenty-feven thoufand men to invade Dutch Brabant. April 16. At the fame time, the French minifter at the Hague prefented a memorial to the States, in the name of his mafter, notifying, That his moft Chriftian majefty, in thus entering the territories of the republic (a ftep to which he was forced by the neceffity of war) had no defign of coming to a rupture with their High Mightineffes. He meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; that he had accordingly enjoined the commander of his troops to obferve the ftricteft difcipline, and on no account to offer any difturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. And he concluded with declaring, That he would confider the places and countries he fhould be obliged to take poffeffion of for his own fecurity, merely as a pledge, which he promifed to reftore, as foon as the United Provinces fhould give convincing proofs that they would no longer affift the enemies of his crown.

While the States-general were deliberating on this memorial, which was chiefly intended to amufe the Dutch populace, Lowendahl made himfelf mafter of Sluys, Sandburg, Hulft, and many other fortified places of no fmall importance; the confederates, though reinforced with feven thoufand Britifh troops, not daring to oppofe his progrefs. They were obliged by their pofition to cover Breda and Boifleduc; and all their motions were jealoufly watched by marefchal Saxe, who covered Antwerp, and the other French conquefts in the Low Countries, with an hundred and twenty thoufand men[6]. Thus fecure, Lowendahl pufhed his conquefts

6. *Mém. de Saxe.*

in Dutch Brabant; and having taken poſſeſſion of Axel and Terneuſe, was making preparations for a deſcent upon Zealand, when a Britiſh ſquadron defeated his purpoſe, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat neceſſary.

Struck with conſternation at the progreſs of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themſelves betrayed by their rulers, clamoured loudly againſt the miniſtry of the republic. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of promoting his intereſt. They encouraged the diſcontents of the people; they exaggerated the public danger; they reminded their countrymen of the year 1672, when Lewis XIV. was at the gates of Amſterdam, and the republic was ſaved by the election of a ſtadtholder. And they exhorted their fellow citizens to turn their eyes on William Henry Friſo, the lineal deſcendant of thoſe heroes, who had eſtabliſhed the liberty and independency of the United Provinces; extolling his virtues and talents, his ability, generoſity, juſtice, and unſhaken love of his country.

Inflamed by ſuch repreſentations, and their apparently deſperate ſituation, the people roſe in many places, and compelled their magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange ſtadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aſide ſince the death of William III. His popularity daily increaſed; and at laſt, after being elected by ſeveral particular
May 15. provinces, he was appointed, in the general aſſembly of the States, "Stadtholder, captain general, and admiral "in chief of all the United Provinces."

On that occaſion, count Bentinck, who introduced the new ſtadtholder, addreſſed the States-general in the following words:—"I doubt not but the prince I have the honour to "preſent to you, will tread in the ſteps of his glorious anceſ- "tors: will heartily concur with us in delivering from danger "the republic now invaded, and preſerve us from the yoke of

"a

"a treacherous and deceitful neighbour, who makes a jest "of good faith, honour, and the most solmen treaties[7]."

The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures. The States-general immediately gave orders, That no provisions or warlike stores should be exported out of their dominions, except for the use of the allied army; that a fleet should be equipped, and the militia regularly armed and disciplined. They sent agents to several German courts, in order to treat for the hire of thirty thousand additional troops to their army: a council of war was established, for enquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-towns; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against the subjects of France, both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

During all these transactions the duke of Cumberland lay inactive, over-awed by the superior generalship, rather than the superior force, of the French commander, who still continued to watch him. At length the king of France arrived at Brussels, and it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With that view mareschal Saxe, having called in his detachments, advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates, perceiving his design, endeavoured by forced marches to get possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened city. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had occupied the post before their arrival, and were preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their main body and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was now become unavoidable. The duke of Cumberland, therefore, disposed his army in order of battle, on the evening of the 30th of June; and very judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val in the front of

May 22.

7. *Contin.* of Rapin. vol. ix.

his

his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a few miles of Maestricht, and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians, under mareschal Bathiani, who lay at Bilsen, composed the right of the confederate army; and the Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, occupied the centre.

Matters being thus prepared, both armies waited with impatience the approach of morning. As soon as it was light, the French cavalry made a great shew upon the heights of Herdeeren, in order to conceal the motions of their infantry; which appeared, soon after, coming down into the plain, through a valley between the hills near Rempert, formed in a vast column, of nine or ten battalions in front and as many deep, and bearing directly on the village of Val. They suffered severely, in their approach, from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musquetry saluted them with so warm a fire, that the front of the column was broken and dispersed. Not discouraged by this repulse, fresh battalions continued to advance to the attack, with wonderful alacrity and perseverance; so that the British troops in Val, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by three fresh regiments, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The battle now wore so favourable an aspect, that the duke of Cumberland ordered the action to be made general; and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when certain unforeseen circumstances disappointed their hopes.

July 1.

The motion of the Austrians under Bathiani, on the right wing of the allied army, was so slow as to be equal to an almost total inaction[8]; so that mareschal Saxe, apprehending

8. This inaction of the Austrian general is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was supposed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, mareschal

ing no danger from that quarter, was able to turn the whole weight of the French army againſt the village of Val, and not only finally to regain poſſeſſion of it, after it had been three times loſt and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in ſpite of all the efforts of the duke of Cumberland, who exerted himſelf with great courage, and no inconſiderable ſhare of conduct. The Dutch, in the centre, inſtead of ſupporting the broken wing, fell back in diſorder, and overthrew, in their flight, five Auſtrian battalions that were advancing ſlowly to the charge. The French followed their blow; and having totally routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous criſis, when mareſchal Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the duke of Cumberland his captive, ſir John Ligonier, who commanded the Britiſh cavalry, ruſhed at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and ſome ſquadrons of heavy horſe, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down every thing before him; and although he was himſelf taken priſoner, by purſuing too far, he procured the duke of Cumberland time to collect his ſcattered forces, and to retire without moleſtation to Maeſtricht. The confederates loſt about five, and the French near ten thouſand men [9].

Such was the obſtinate and bloody, but partial battle of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the Britiſh troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly: and, if properly ſupported, would have gained a complete victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Lewis XV. that "the Engliſh not only paid all, but fought all!"—The action was followed by no important conſequences. The

mareſchal Bathiani aſked permiſſion of the duke of Cumberland, to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would anſwer for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. The duke, inſtead of acceding to the propoſal, aſked him, by way of reply, where he ſhould be found, in caſe he was wanted. "I ſhall always be found," ſaid Bathiani, "at the head of my troops!" and retired in diſguſt.

9. *Contin.* of Rapin. ubi ſup. London *Gazette*, July 2, 1747.

duke of Cumberland, having reinforced the garriſon of Maeſtricht, paſſed the Maeſe, in the neighbourhood of that city, and extended his army toward Viſt, in the duchy of Limburg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and mareſchal Saxe, after amuſing the confederates for a while, with various and contracting movements, ſuddenly detached count Lowendahl, with thirty thouſand men, to inveſt Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Coehorn.

This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable; as, beſide its great natural and artificial ſtrength, it can at all times be ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, in ſpite of the beſiegers, by means of two canals, called the Old and New Harbour, which communicate with the Scheld, and are navigable every tide. It was defended by a garriſon of three thouſand men, under the prince of Heſſe Philipſtahl, when Lowendahl ſat down before it; and the prince of Saxe Hildburghauſen, who was ſent to its relief, with an army of twenty battalions and fourteen ſquadrons, took poſſeſſion of the lines belonging to the fortification, and from which the garriſon could be reinforced on the ſhorteſt notice. As ſoon as the trenches were opened, old baron Cronſtrom, governor of Dutch Brabant, aſſumed the command in the town, and preparations were made for the moſt vigorous defence. Meanwhile Lowendahl conducted his operations with great judgment and ſpirit; and although he loſt a number of men, in his approaches, by the warm and unremitted fire of the garriſon, he was ſo effectually and ſpeedily reinforced, by detachments from the army under mareſchal Saxe, that he began very early to have hopes of ſucceſs. He was even attempting to ſtorm two of the out-forts, when lord John Murray's regiment of Scottiſh Highlanders, by a deſperate ſally, beat off the aſſailants, and burnt ſome of their principal batteries. Other ſallies were made with effect; mines were ſprung on

July 15.

both

both ſides, and every inſtrument of deſtruction employed, for the ſpace of ſix weeks after this repulſe. Nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon; the town was laid in aſhes, the trenches were filled with carnage!—And the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, ſeemed ſtill doubtful, as the works were yet in a great meaſure entire, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by aſſault.

That experienced general, and great maſter in the art of reducing fortified places, having obſerved a ravelin, and two baſtions ſomewhat damaged, reſolved to ſtorm all three at once. As the breaches were not ſuch as could be deemed practicable, the governor had taken no precaution againſt an aſſault: and that very circumſtance induced Lowendahl, preſuming on ſuch negligence, to hazard the attempt. He accordingly aſſembled his troops in the dead of night; when the ordinary centinels only were on duty, and the greater part of the garriſon was buried in ſecurity and repoſe. The aſſault was made at four in the morning, by the French grenadiers, who threw themſelves into the foſſe, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and entered the place almoſt without reſiſtance. The Highlanders however aſſembled in the market-place, and fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. But that was the only oppoſition the aſſailants met with. The troops in the lines inſtantly diſappeared; all the forts in the neighbourhood ſurrendered; and the French became maſters of the whole navigation of the Scheld[10]. Sept. 14.

The news of this event occaſioned great ſurprize at London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmoſt conſternation. The joy of the French was proportionally great. Lewis XV. no ſooner received intelligence of the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, than he promoted count Lowendahl to the rank of a mareſchal of France; and having appointed

10. Voltaire. Millot. Smollett.

count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, he returned in triumph to Verſailles. "The peace," ſaid the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maeſtricht[11]!" —But the ſiege of that important place being reſerved for next campaign, both the French and the allies went into winter-quarters, without engaging in any new enterprize.

Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally ſucceſsful on the frontiers of Italy, during this campaign; although the mareſchal de Belleiſle, early in the ſeaſon, ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army in Provence, which threatened to carry every thing before it. He paſſed the Var, in the month of April, and took poſſeſſion of Nice. He reduced Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia almoſt without reſiſtance, and obliged the Auſtrians, under count Brown, to retire toward Final and Savona. Nor were theſe the moſt important conſequences of his expedition.

The court of Vienna, enraged at the revolt of the Genoeſe, was reſolved to reduce them again to ſubjection, and ſeverely to chaſtiſe the capital of the republic. Count Schuylemberg, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Botta in the chief command of Italy, was accordingly ordered to inveſt Genoa, with a powerful army of Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe. Meanwhile the king of France, ſenſible of the importance of that city to the cauſe of the houſe of Bourbon, had remitted large ſums, in order to enable the inhabitants to put it in a poſture of defence; and, beſide engineers and officers to diſcipline the troops of the republic, he ſent thither a body of four thouſand five hundred men, under the duke of Boufflers, for the greater ſecurity of the place, and to animate the Genoeſe to a bold reſiſtance. The deſign took effect. The citizens of Genoa reſolved to periſh rather than again ſubmit to the Auſtrians. But the force ſent againſt them made their fate very doubtful.

11. *Mem. de Saxe.*

Schuylem-

Schuylemberg aſſembled his army in the duchy of Milan, in the month of January; and having forced the paſſage of the Bochetta, entered the territories of Genoa, and appeared before the capital at the head of forty thouſand men. As the inhabitants obſtinately refuſed to lay down their arms, and even treated with deriſion the propoſal made them of ſubmitting to the clemency of the court of Vienna, the place was regularly inveſted; and although the Genoeſe behaved with great ſpirit in ſeveral ſallies, animated by the example of the French troops under the duke of Boufflers, the Auſtrian general conducted his operations with ſo much ſkill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he muſt at laſt have accompliſhed his enterpriſe, had not his attention been diverted to another quarter. Alarmed at the progreſs of the mareſchal de Belleiſle, the king of Sardinia and count Brown repreſented to Schuylemberg the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy. He accordingly drew off his army, and joined his Sardinian majeſty, to the great joy of the Genoeſe; who, in revenge of the injuries they had ſuffered, ravaged the duchies of Parma and Placentia[9].

The apprehenſions of the king of Sardinia for his hereditary dominions were by no means groundleſs. While the mareſchal de Belleiſle lay at Ventimiglia, his brother, the chevalier, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by the way of Dauphiny, at the head of thirty thouſand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory under ſo gallant a leader. When he arrived at the Paſs of Exilles, a ſtrong poſt on the north ſide of the river Doria, he found fourteen battalions of Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians waiting for him, behind ramparts of wood and ſtone, lined with artillery: and all the paſſes of the Alps were ſecured by detachments of the ſame troops. Not diſcouraged by theſe obſtacles, Belleiſle attacked the Piedmonteſe entrenchments with great intrepidity. But he

9. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

was repulsed with loss in three successive assaults; and being determined to perish rather than survive a miscarriage, he seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through an incessant fire, planted them with his own hand on the enemy's battlements [10]. At that instant he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet and two musket balls in his body. Many other officers of distinction were killed; and the survivors, discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, retired with precipitation, leaving behind them about five thousand slain.

The mareschal de Belleisle was no sooner informed of his brother's fate, than he retreated toward the Var, in order to join the unfortunate army from Exilles. About the same time, the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiny with an invasion. But excessive rains prevented the execution of the enterprize, and the campaign was closed without any other memorable event.

The naval transactions of this year were more favourable to Great Britain than those of any other during the war. Her success was great almost beyond example, but more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement. The English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three ships of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of six sail of the line, in the beginning of May, off Cape Finisterre. The French fleet was commanded by the marquis de la Jonquiere and Monsf. St. George, having under their convoy thirty ships laden with stores and merchandise, bound for America and the East Indies. The bat-

10. Voltaire represents the chevalier de Belleisle as attempting to pull up the palisades with his teeth, after being wounded in both arms. This is a perfectly ludicrous image: and admitting the assumed fact to be true, utterly inconsistent with the dignity of history. But it is by no means uncommon, even with the best French writers, to excite laughter, when they attempt the sublime.

tle began about four in the afternoon: and although the French seamen and commanders behaved with singular courage, and discovered no want of conduct, six ships of war and four armed East Indiamen were taken[11]. About six weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island, and took forty-six of them.

Admiral Hawke was no less successful. He sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Brittany; and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monf. de Letendeur. On the 14th of October, the two squadrons came within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when six French ships of the line had struck to the British flag[12]. The rest escaped under cover of the darkness; having all maintained, with great obstinacy, a gallant but unequal fight.

These naval victories, which in a manner annihilated the French fleet, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron and a considerable body of land-forces, for the East Indies, where it was conjectured he would not only recover Madrass but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Lewis XV. seriously to think of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low Countries. Other causes conspired to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted: the trade of his subjects was utterly ruined: and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The suc-

11. Lond. *Gazette*, May 16, 1747. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.
12. Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1747.

cess of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands: but the election of a Stadtholder, by uniting the force of the States-general against him, left little hopes of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British parliament, whose resources were yet copious, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, being heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions.

In the mean time, vigorous preparations for war were made in every quarter; but the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a cessation of arms took place, before any enterprise of consequence was undertaken, except the siege of Maestricht. Mareschal Saxe invested that important place in the beginning of April; and he concerted his measures with so much judgment, that Lowendahl was enabled to carry on his operations without interruption, though the army of the confederates, under the duke of Cumberland, to the number of an hundred and ten thousand men, lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The town was defended by twenty-four battalions of Dutch and Austrian troops, commanded by baron d'Aylva, who opposed the besiegers with great skill and resolution. They prose-

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cuted their approaches, however, with incredible ardour; and effected, at laſt, a lodgment in the covered way, after an obſtinate diſpute, in which they loſt two thouſand of their beſt troops. But they were diſlodged next day, by the gallantry of the garriſon, which acquired freſh courage from this ſucceſs.

Such was the doubtful, and even unfavourable ſtate of the ſiege of Maeſtricht, when intelligence arrived of the ſigning of the preliminaries, and orders for a ceſſation of arms. Yet was it agreed by the plenipotentiaries, "That for the glory "of the arms of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty," the place ſhould be immediately ſurrendered to his general, but reſtored, on the concluſion of the peace, with all its magazines and artillery. Mareſchal Saxe accordingly took poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, while the garriſon marched out with the cuſtomary honours of war. A. D. 1748. May 3.

But although the negociation was thus far advanced in the beginning of ſummer, ſo many were the difficulties ſtarted by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, that it was the month of October before matters could be finally ſettled. Meanwhile hoſtilities were carried on both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boſcawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French ſettlement of Pondicherry, on the coaſt of Coromandel; and admiral Knowles, in an attack upon St. Jago de Cuba. Knowles, however, took Port Lewis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, and demoliſhed the fortifications [13]. He alſo defeated, off the Havanna, a Spaniſh ſquadron of equal force with his own, and took one ſhip of the line. At length the definitive treaty was ſigned, and hoſtilities ceaſed in all quarters. Oct. 7.

This treaty had for its baſis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties, from that of Weſtphalia downward; and for its immediate object, as the means of a general pacifica-

13. *Contin* of Rapin, vol. ix.

tion, a mutual reſtitution of all conqueſts made ſince the beginning of the war, with a releaſe of priſoners without ranſom. The principal ſtipulations provide, That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhall be ceded, as a ſovereignty, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was alſo ſtipulated, that, in caſe he or his deſcendants ſhall ſucceed to the crown of Spain or that of the Two Sicilies, or die without male iſſue, thoſe territories ſhall return to the preſent poſſeſſors, the empreſs queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their deſcendants:) that the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhall enjoy the Aſſiento contract, with the privilege of the annual ſhip, during the reverſionary term of four years, which it has been ſuſpended by the war; (but no mention was made of the right of Engliſh ſhips to navigate the American ſeas without being ſubject to ſearch, though the indignation occaſioned by the violation of that conteſted right had ſolely given riſe to the war between Great Britain and Spain:) that all the contracting powers ſhall guaranty to his Pruſſian majeſty the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he now poſſeſſes them: and that ſuch of the ſame powers as have guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction of the emperor Charles VI. for ſecuring to his daughter, the preſent empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the undivided ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhall renew their engagements in the moſt ſolemn manner, with the exception of the ceſſions made by this and former treaties [14].

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been ſo generally, and ſo unjuſtly cenſured by Engliſh writers, who ought rather to have cenſured the wanton war, and the waſteful and unſkilful manner of conducting it. The peace was as good as the confederates had any right to expect. They had been, upon the whole, exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, with-

14. *Articles of Peace*, ibid.

out

out ſuſtaining a defeat; and there was no proſpect of their being more ſucceſsful, had they even been reinforced with the thirty thouſand Ruſſians hired, while the ſame generals commanded on both ſides. But matters were ſo ill managed, that the Ruſſians could not have joined them till the ſeaſon of action would have been nearly over; and had they been ready more early, it is believed that the king of Pruſſia would have interpoſed, from a jealouſy of the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Auſtria, on whoſe embarraſſments he depended for the quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. The reſources of France were indeed nearly exhauſted:—her navy was deſtroyed: and Lewis XV. made ſacrifices proportioned to his neceſſities. But great as his neceſſities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progreſs of his arms during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into ſubmiſſion. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hoſtile powers, left ſeparately at the mercy of the houſe of Bourbon, muſt have acceded to worſe conditions; or England muſt have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous continental war, in which ſhe had properly no intereſt.

But although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all circumſtances conſidered, cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an ill-timed meaſure, it muſt be lamented, that it was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a long and fruitleſs war—of a war, ſingular in the annals of mankind; by which, after a prodigious deſtruction of the human ſpecies, and a variety of turns of fortune, all parties (the king of Pruſſia excepted, whoſe ſelfiſh and temporizing policy it is impoſſible to juſtify) may be ſaid to have been loſers[15].

This

15. The ſettlement, procured for Don Philip in Italy, might have been obtained on the death of the emperor Charles VI. if the houſe of Bourbon had confined its views merely to that object; and admitting that it could not, it was a very inadequate equivalent for the expences and loſſes of the two branches of that houſe, by land and ſea, during the courſe of the war. The

king

This reflection more particularly strikes us, in contemplating the infatuation of France and Great Britain: of the former, in lavishing such a quantity of blood and treasure, in order to give an emperor to Germany; and of the latter, in neglecting her most essential interests, in withdrawing her attention from Spanish America, and loading her subjects with an immense public debt, in order to preserve entire the succession of the house of Austria! but more especially the folly of both in continuing the war, for several years, after the object of it was lost on one side, and attained on the the other. Nor can we, as Englishmen, in taking such a survey, help looking back, with peculiar regret, to the peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; when the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain flourished to so high a degree, that the balance of trade in her favour amounted, on an average, to the immense sum of four millions sterling annually [16].

Let us not however, my dear Philip, dwell wholly on the dark side of the picture. So great an influx of wealth, without any extraordinary expenditure, or call to bold enterprise, must soon have produced a total dissolution of manners; and the British nation, overwhelmed with luxury and effeminacy, might have sunk into an early decline. The martial spirit, which seemed to languish for want of exercise, was revived by the war. The English navy, which had been suffered to go to decay, was restored, and that of France ruined. This last advantage was, in itself, worth many millions of treasure: and it was eventually productive of a multitude of beneficial consequences. A desire of re-establishing their marine was one of the chief motives that induced the French

king of Sardinia, after all his subsidies, and some cessions made to him, was a loser; and the queen of Hungary could have dictated better conditions in 1742, when the French were driven out of Bohemia, than she at last acceded to. Even the king of Prussia obtained no more than was ceded to him by the treaty of Breslaw, concluded the same year.

16. Chalmers's *Estimate*, p. 37

ministry to grant such favourable conditions to the confederates at Aix la-Chapelle; they having already formed the design, as will afterward more fully appear, of extending their settlements both in America and the East Indies.

LETTER XXXI.

FRANCE, SPAIN, *and* GREAT BRITAIN, *from the Peace of* AIX-LA-CHAPELLE *to the renewal of Hostilities in* 1755, *with a general View of the Disputes in the* EAST-INDIES, *and a particular Account of the Rise of the War in* AMERICA.

THE few years of peace, that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were the most prosperous and happy that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations and of ranks, was rendered more facile and general than in any former period, by means of new roads, new vehicles, and new amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, refinement, and mutual civilities.

That harmony, however, was disturbed for a time, by alarming tumults in England, and by a violent dispute between the clergy and the parliaments of France, which threatened a rebellion in the two kingdoms. But both subsided without any important or lasting consequence. The first were the effects of the wantonness of the common people of England, rioting in opulence and plenty, and not sufficiently restrained by a regular police: the second, the indication of a rising spirit of liberty among the more enlightened part of the French laity; as I shall have occasion

to ſhew, in carrying forward the Progreſs of Society, where the particulars of the diſpute will be mentioned[1]. Meanwhile, the two governments turned on one another a watchful eye; and a long ſeaſon of tranquillity was expected from the awe with which one half of Europe ſeemed to inſpire the other.

The French miniſtry had formed the plan of diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of their principal ſettlements both in America and the Eaſt Indies, or at leaſt of conſiderably extending their own (as I have already had occaſion to hint), when they concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In theſe ambitious projects they were encouraged by two able and enterpriſing men; by la Galiſſoniere, governor of Canada, and M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. But in order to inſure ſucceſs in ſuch diſtant expeditions, it was neceſſary for France to reſtore her marine, and even to raiſe it, if poſſible, to a ſuperity over that of Great Britain. With this view, prodigious efforts were made: naval ſtores were imported from all the northern kingdoms; a great number of ſhips were built at Breſt and Toulon; and contracts were entered into with different companies in Sweden, for building eighteen ſail of the line.

But nothing is attended with ſo much expence as the raiſing or reſtoring a navy. The French finances, though recruiting faſt, were not equal to the extraordinary drain. Repeated attempts were therefore made, by the leading men in France, to engage the court of Spain, whoſe American treaſures were now got home in ſafety, to enter into their ambitious views; and propoſals for a family-compact, ſuch as has ſince been formed, were exhibited to the Spaniſh miniſtry, in 1753, by the duke de Duras, the French ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, under the direction of the duke de Noailles.

When the duke de Duras inſiſted on the importance of an

1. See LETT. XXXVI.

union between the two crowns, he was told that ſuch an union was already eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Fontainbleau; an irrevocable family-compact, and to perfect which it was only neceſſary to cut off what related to laſt war. The duke de Duras was ignorant ſuch a treaty exiſted, and Saint Conteſt, the French miniſter for foreign affairs, ſeemed inclined to keep him in the dark; but the duke de Noailles furniſhed him with a copy of it, accompanied with obſervations, which may be conſidered as the baſis of that formidable family-compact which was afterward concluded. He maintained, that the treaty of Fontainbleau, almoſt all the articles of which related to the late war, and the execution of which, in many particulars (ſuch as the recovery of the iſland of Minorca and the fortreſs of Gibraltar to Spain) had been rendered impoſſible by circumſtances, was in a manner annulled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that a true family-compact, ſuch as it was equally the intereſt of France and Spain to contract for their mutual advantage, which ſhould have for its objects the ſecuring the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon on the two thrones, and the preſervation of their dominions; the glory and greatneſs of both kingdoms; ought not only to be irrevocable, but independent of time and circumſtances; to be affected neither by peace nor war [2].

All the French intrigues, however, were defeated by the penetration, vigilance, and addreſs of Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, ſupported by the credit of the judicious and intelligent Mr. Wall, a gentleman of Iriſh extraction, who had long reſided as Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London; and by the ſtill more powerful influence of Farinelli the famous Italian ſinger, who entirely governed the queen, a princeſs of Portugal, whoſe aſcendant over her huſband was abſolute and uncontroulable [3].

2. *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, compoſés ſur les Pièces Originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, mareſchal de France, et Miniſtre d'Etat, par M. l'Abbé Millot*, tom. iv.

3. Idem. ibid.

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The naturally pacific Ferdinand, though well affected toward the elder branch of his family, was thus induced to disregard all the splendid allurements of the court of Versailles, and all insinuations to the disadvantage of that of Great Britain, as insidious attempts to drag him into a new war. In answer to a memorial presented by the French ambassador, in 1754, on the subject of the family-compact, and accompanied with a letter, in which Lewis XV. mentions the patience, beyond measure, with which he had suffered the unjust proceedings of England for four years, the Catholic king declared, That he was sensible of the importance of the harmony between the two crowns, and between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but having always an eye to the general tranquillity of Europe, and the jealousy which a formal compact would excite, he thought it
1754. the interest of the two monarchies to avoid such a measure; and that the differences with England would be better composed, through the mediation of the allied powers, than by a threatening league [4].

Withdrawing his heart wholly from ambition, the Spanish monarch therefore placed all his glory in reviving commerce, and encouraging arts and manufactures, too long neglected among his subjects. He disgraced the marquis de la Encenada, his prime minister, for endeavouring, in conjunction with Elizabeth Farnese, the queen-dowager, to alter his measures; and Wall being placed at the head of the administration, the same wise and pacific measures were pursued during the subsequent part of the reign of Ferdinand VI.

The disgrace of Encenada, which happened when all things seemed ripe for a perpetual league between France and Spain, gave a fatal blow to the projects of the court of Versailles. But the French ministry had already gone too far, to be tamely forgiven by Great Britain. They were sensible of it; and as their navy was not yet in full force, they attempted, though too late, to disarm resentment, and conci-

4. Noailles, ubi supra.

liate favour, by an hypocritical appearance of moderation. Their views were obvious to all Europe. And when they found they could no longer deceive, or soothe the court of London, they attempted to intimidate it, by threatening the German dominions of George II. in hopes that the apprehension of this danger would make their encroachments in America be winked at, until they were in a condition to avow their purpose. But before we enter upon that subject, a variety of others must be discussed. A view must be taken of the state of the settlements of the rival powers in both extremities of the globe.

Though Madrass was restored to the English East India company ,and Louisbourg to the French monarchy, agreeable to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, hostilities between the subjects of France and England could never be said properly to have ceased, either in North America or the East Indies. The taking of those two important places, and the ineffectual attempts to recover them, had irritated the spirit of the two nations. And plans were laid by each, as we have seen, during the latter years of the war, for the conquest of the principal settlements belonging to the other, both in the East Indies and in North America. But those plans proved abortive. And all such ambitious projects seem to have been relinquished on the part of Great Britain, at the peace; for although she gave up Louisbourg with reluctance, that reluctance proceeded less from any purpose of extending her possessions in North America, than from an apprehension of the injuries and inconveniences to which it would again expose her colonies, in case of a new war. The views of France were very different, when she, with no less reluctance, restored Madrass to the English East India company.

M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, having gallantly defended that place against the British armament under Boscawen, in 1748, immediately conceived the great idea of advancing the interests of the French East India company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south

of

of Aſia; and even of making himſelf maſter, by degrees, of the whole peninſula of India Proper. On the two ſides of that vaſt peninſula, which projects out into the ſea to the extent of a thouſand miles, and occupies the immenſe ſpace between the widely ſeparated mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, the European companies have eſtabliſhed many factories. The weſt ſide is called the Malabar, and the eaſt the Coromandel coaſt. This extenſive and fertile territory chiefly belongs to the Great Mogul. But the ſucceſſors of Aurengzebe (the laſt of the deſcendants of Tamerlane, the illuſtrious Tartar conqueror of Indoſtan, who maintained with vigour ſupreme dominion in the Eaſt) had ſunk into a ſtate of indolence and effeminacy; and ſince the irruption of the famous Kouli Khan, in 1738, had poſſeſſed ſo little authority, that all the great officers of the crown were become in a manner independent princes. The Subahs, or Mahometan viceroys of provinces; the Nabobs, or governors of inferior diſtricts; and even the Rajas, or tributary Indian princes, now began to conſider themſelves as abſolute ſovereigns; paying to the Mogul emperors any homage they thought proper, and frequently making war on one another.

The better to carry his grand ſcheme into execution, Dupleix formed the project of making ſubahs and nabobs; and even of becoming a nabob himſelf. In this project he was encouraged by his own ſituation and the circumſtances of the times. The late war had brought a number of French troops to Pondicherry, and the ſtate of affairs in India was highly propitious to his views.

The ſubaſhip of the Decan, which extends from Cape Comorin almoſt to the Ganges, having become vacant in 1748, and being claimed by different competitors, Dupleix and his aſſociates, after a ſeries of bold enterpriſes and ſingular events, in which the intrepidity of the French, the abject condition of the natives, and the weakneſs and corruption of the court of Delhi, were equally conſpicuous, diſpoſed of it in 1750, in favour of Murzafa Jing, grandſon of the late

ſubah. Murzafa, who had gallantly diſputed the viceroyalty with his uncle, Nazir Jing, was ſlain ſoon after in battle, and ſucceeded in the ſubahſhip of the Decan by Sallabat Jing, another uncle; who being conducted by a body of French troops to Aurengabad, the capital of the province, there governed in ſecurity, under the protection of France, independent of the Great Mogul, to whoſe authority he bid defiance. Both this prince and his predeceſſor made liberal ceſſions to their European benefactors.

Before M. Dupleix had thus far ſucceeded in his plan, he was enabled to procure the nabobſhip of Arcot, in which Pondicherry is ſituated, for a man whoſe attachment and ſubmiſſion might be depended upon. The perſon ſingled out for that purpoſe was Chunda Saheb, ſon-in-law to a former nabob, whom he had hoped to ſucceed. But the court of Delhi diſappointed his ambition, by beſtowing the nabobſhip of Arcot upon Anawaradean Khan, an aged prince, whoſe fortune had undergone a variety of revolutions. Through the intrigues of Dupleix, however, and the aſſiſtance of French troops, Chunda Saheb vanquiſhed his rival, who fell in battle, and obtained a grant of the diſputed government from Murzafa Jing.

The new nabob vigorouſly ſupported the French in their uſurpations. They became maſters of an immenſe territory, extending ſix hundred miles along the coaſt of Coromandel. M. Dupleix had even the addreſs to get himſelf appointed nabob of the Carnatic during the life of Chunda Saheb. And he and his aſſociates in the Eaſt, encouraged in their ambitious views by the court of Verſailles (though afterward timidly abandoned by it), propoſed to obtain from the Great Mogul, or from the ſubah of the Decan, a ceſſion of the capital of the Portugueſe ſettlements on the coaſt of Malabar, and to ſeize upon the whole country that lies, in a triangular form, between Mazulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin[5].

In

5. Theſe ambitious projects are owned by Voltaire, Raynal, and other French

In the mean time, Mahommed Ally, ſon of the late nabob of Arcot, having taken ſhelter in Tritchinopoly, a ſtrong fortreſs ſtill in his poſſeſſion, implored the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, with whom his father had lived in friendſhip. And, in order to induce them to eſpouſe his cauſe, he repreſented that his intereſts and theirs were intimately connected; that their danger was common, as the French, if ſuffered to proceed in their conqueſts, would ſoon make themſelves maſters of all the Carnatic. He accordingly received a reinforcement under major Lawrence, a brave and experienced officer; and the enemy being compelled to retire from Tritchinopoly, he went in perſon to Fort St. David, and entered into cloſe alliance with the governor, in the name of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, to which he gave up ſome commercial points, of no ſmall moment, that had been long diſputed.

Mahommed Ally, in conſideration of this alliance, received another reinforcement under captain Cope, and a third under captain Gingen. A number of actions took place, and with great diverſity of fortune. Sometimes victory declared for the French, and ſometimes for the Engliſh. But no deciſive advantage had been gained before the campaign of 1751, when a great military character appeared on that theatre where he was afterward to make ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure.

This was the famous Mr. Clive, who had gone out to Fort St. David as a *writer*, or accomptant, to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and was at that time commiſſary to the army. He propoſed to divide the French force, by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province of the ſame name, and the ſeat of the nabob. Being furniſhed, for that purpoſe, with one hundred and thirty European ſoldiers, he accordingly repaired to Madraſs; where receiving a ſmall reinforcement, he happily accompliſhed his enterpriſe. Arcot was taken.

French writers. And Mr. Orme, one of the moſt judicious Engliſh writers on the affairs of Indoſtan, imputes to M. Dupleix yet more extenſive plans of dominion.

But

But before the victor had leisure to secure his conquest, or to think of a retreat, he was besieged in the place, by a numerous army of French and Indians, under Raja Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb.

The ruin of captain Clive and his brave associates seemed now inevitable; and the more timid began to represent it (as posterity certainly would, if it had taken place) as the natural consequence, and just punishment, of his presumptuous rashness. By his courage and conduct, however, he repelled all the efforts of the assailants; who, having suffered severely in many desperate attacks, were forced to relinquish their enterprise, after a vigorous siege of fifty days[6]. This defence is memorable in the annals of war. It was maintained with wonderful intrepidity and perseverance against greatly superior numbers, provided with skilful engineers, by a handful of men, under a young commander, in a great measure ignorant of the military science; but the resources suggested by whose genius were such, as would have been employed by the greatest masters in the art of defending fortified places.

Receiving soon after a reinforcement under captain Kirkpatrick, captain Clive pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of Arni, gained a complete victory, after an obstinate dispute of five hours. But this victory did not put an end to the war. The French, who were still powerful at Pondicherry, quickly assembled a new army, and took the field in conjunction with their allies, Sallabat Jing and Chunda Saheb. The English, who persevered in supporting Mahommed Ally, were joined by the Rajah of Tanjour, and other princes in their alliance. Major Lawrence assumed the chief command of the Company's troops; and captain Clive, who shared his confidence, acted under him, and continued to give fresh proofs of his military ge-

6. Orme's *Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, book iii.

nius. The whole peninſula of India rung with the din of arms, and ſome of its fineſt provinces were laid waſte. At length, after a variety of efforts, in which the advantage was generally in favour of the Engliſh, the French and their allies were effectually humbled; and Chunda Saheb being made priſoner by the Rajah of Tanjour, that prince cruelly, but politically, commanded his head to be ſtruck off, in order to prevent future diſputes.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, the French were ſtript of many of their late acquiſitions. Mahommed Ally remained undiſputed nabob of Arcot; and the ambitious and enterpriſing Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a ceſſation of arms took place between the hoſtile powers, as a prelude to a treaty of peace. A conditional treaty was accordingly negociated, by which the French and Engliſh companies agreed for ever to renounce all oriental government and dignity; never to interfere in any diſputes that might ariſe between the princes of the country; and that all places, except ſuch as were particularly ſtipulated to remain in the poſſeſſion of each company, ſhould be delivered up to the government of Indoſtan [7]. Theſe ſtipulations it is unneceſſary to enumerate, as they were never fulfilled. Before this conditional treaty had received the ſanction of the two companies in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe, and ſoon embroiled the whole world.

The province of Nova Scotia in North America, to which the French gave the name of l'Acadie, was ceded to Great Britain, as we have ſeen, at the peace of Utrecht. But the ſoil being reputed barren, and the climate intenſely cold, only a few Engliſh families ſettled in that much conteſted country, notwithſtanding its advantageous ſituation for carrying on the fiſhing trade, and its abounding in naval ſtores; ſo that the French inhabitants, having taken the oath of al-

7. Id. ibid.

legiance

legiance to their new ſovereign, continued to enjoy their poſ-ſeſſions, their religion, and every other privilege, under the Britiſh government, which exacted from them neither rent nor taxes. As they were exempted from the obligation of carrying arms againſt the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, they aſſumed to themſelves the name of *Neutrals*. This peaceful character, which they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to maintain, they ſhamefully violated in 1746, when France attempted to regain poſſeſſion of the country. Their conduct on that occaſion, though not altogether hoſtile, was utterly inconſiſtent with their political ſituation, and ſufficiently ſhewed the neceſſity of peopling Nova Scotia with Britiſh ſubjects; as well to ſecure its dependence as a colony, as to render it of any benefit to the mother-country; the Neutrals being clandeſtinely ſupplied with French commodities from Canada and Cape Breton[8].

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left a number of men, belonging to the ſea and land ſervice, without employment, was highly favourable to ſuch a project. The Britiſh miniſtry accordingly offered great encouragement to all ſoldiers, ſailors, artificers, and reduced officers, who choſe to ſettle in Nova Scotia. Beſide large lots of land, proportioned to their rank in the army or navy, government engaged to pay the charge of their paſſage, to build them houſes, to furniſh them with all the neceſſary utenſils for huſbandry and the fiſhery, and to defray the expence of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. In conſequence of this liberality, about three thouſand families, many of whom were German proteſtants, embarked for Nova Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military ſtation, in order to repreſs the encroachments of the French, was built, and the harbour ſtrongly fortified.

Now it was that the diſputes, between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia (which had not

8. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

hitherto been diſtinctly ſettled, by reaſon of its neglected condition), began to be hotly agitated by the commiſſaries of the two crowns. And new diſputes, of ſtill more importance, aroſe, relative to the boundaries of the Britiſh provinces to the ſouthward, on which the French had attempted ſyſtematically to encroach. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, Canada and Louiſiana, their two extenſive colonies, and to circumſcribe the Engliſh colonies within that tract of country which lies between the Allegany mountains and the ſea. This matter will require ſome elucidation.

Though the Britiſh coloniſts had made few ſettlements beyond the Apalachian mountains, and thoſe few chiefly for the conveniency of the Indian trade, the inhabitants of Virginia always conſidered the extent of their country toward the weſt to be unlimited, as it had been ſettled before the French had ſo much as diſcovered Louiſiana. Nor did the people of the two Carolinas ever doubt but they might extend their plantations to the banks of the Miſſiſippi, without encroaching on the property of any European nation. Their only care was to quiet the jealouſy of the Indians, who were apt to take alarm at any ſettlement in the back-country, as an invaſion on that portion of their native ſoil which the ambition of the Europeans had ſtill left them, and which they ſeemed determined to preſerve, with the laſt drop of their blood, in a ſtate of ſavage nature, for the purpoſes of the chace, their favourite amuſement, and, beſide war, their ſole occupation. Toward the north, the boundaries of the Britiſh colonies, thoſe of Nova Scotia excepted, were better underſtood, as the province of Canada, on which they bordered, had been longer ſettled than Louiſiana; yet on our northern colonies the French had made encroachments, and with impunity.

In conſequence of thoſe encroachments, and others neceſſary to complete her ambitious plan, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade, and the Engliſh colonies, in time of war, muſt have had a frontier of fifteen hundred miles to defend againſt blood-thirſty ſavages,

conducted

conducted by French officers, and supported by disciplined troops. It was in effect to attempt the extinction of the British settlements. And yet, without such interior communication between Canada and Louisiana as was projected, the French settlements, on the Missisippi and the St. Lawrence, could never, it was said, attain to any high degree of consequence or security; the navigation of the one river being at all seasons difficult, and that of the other blocked up with ice, during the winter months, so as to preclude exterior support or relief.

This scheme of usurpation, which is supposed to have long occupied the deliberations of the court of Versailles, was ardently embraced by De la Jonquiere, now commander in chief of the French forces in North-America, and by la Galissoniere, a man of bold and enterprising spirit, who had been appointed governor of New France in 1747. By their joint efforts, in addition to those of their predecessors, forts were erected along the Great Lakes, which communicate with the river St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Missisippi. The vast chain was almost completed, from Quebec to New Orleans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova Scotia.

These conferences had been artfully protracted and perplexed by the commissaries of the court of France. They wanted to confine the province of Nova Scotia solely to that peninsula, which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the English commissaries made it extend to Pentagoet, to the west, and to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, on the north, and proved, by incontrovertible arguments, that these were its real boundaries; boundaries which the French themselves had marked out, when it was restored to them by treaty, under the name of l'Acadie, and particularly at the peace of Breda [9].

9. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit. Smollett's *Hist. Eng.* vol. xii.

During those unavailing disputes, the French were carrying on their encroachments in America, with great boldness, in different quarters. The rising settlement of Halifax, which they foresaw was intended as a bridle upon them, particularly excited their jealousy; and the active and vigilant governor of Canada, beside erecting several forts within the disputed limits of Nova Scotia, had instigated, first the Indians, and afterward the French Neutrals, to take up arms against the British government. Hostilities were likewise commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprised a fortified post of considerable importance, called Log's-town, which the Virginians had established for the conveniency of the Indian trade; and after pillaging its warehouses of skins and European goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of New France, which comprehended in its jurisdiction both Canada and Louisiana, they murdered all the English inhabitants except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy tale. About the same time, M. de Dontrecœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, embarked at Venango, a fort which the French had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced another British post, established by the Virginians, on the forks of the Monaungahela.

Certain intelligence of these hostilities having reached England, orders were sent to the governors of her colonies to drive the French from their usurpations in Nova Scotia; from their fortified posts upon the Ohio; and every where to oppose force to force. But fatal experience soon made the British ministry sensible of the great superiority of the military strength of their enemies in North America; a superiority arising from the original constitution of the colonies of the two rival kingdoms, and other concurring circumstances. The government of New France, being moved by one spring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but separate governments belonging to Great Britain.

tain. The interests of the English colonies were often contradictory: they had frequent disputes with each other, concerning their boundaries; and the inhabitants (little habituated to arms, and divided by religious feuds) were perpetually quarrelling with their governors, and disputing, on the most urgent as well as the most trivial occasions, the prerogatives of the crown or the rights of the proprietary, as their governments happened to be constituted; in one colony verging toward monarchy, in another bordering on democracy. This want of concert, which had often rendered our more wealthy and populous colonies inadequate to their own defence against a naturally inferior enemy, had long been lamented by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, and was well understood by the French [10]. In order to remedy so palpable a political defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a confederacy among all the British governments on the continent of North America, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations in their neighbourhood.

As a preliminary step toward such a confederacy, the governor of New York, accompanied by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or as they are commonly called, *The Indians of the Six Nations*, at Albany. But only a few of their chiefs attended; and it was evident that even those were much cooled in their affection to the English government. This change was occasioned by the powerful but secret influence of the French agents, who had lately employed every means to corrupt the savages. In order to counteract their intrigues with the Six Nations, valuable presents were made, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to such of the Indian chiefs as had thought proper to attend; and liberal promises to the whole. They refused,

10. It was on this principle, and the military spirit of the French colonists, that the old and experienced duke de Noailles encouraged, by memorials, the court of Versailles in its ambitious projects in North America, though under colour of providing for the security of its own settlements. *Mem.* tom. iv.

however, "to take up the hatchet," their phrafe for going to war. They could only be induced to declare, That they were willing to renew their treaties with the king of England, and hoped he would affift them in driving the French from the places they had ufurped in the back country.

Encouraged even by fo flight an indication of friendfhip, and the ardour of the people of the different colonies for war, a refolution was adopted by the general affembly at Albany, to fupport the Britifh claims in every quarter of North America. In confequence of this refolution, major Wafhington, a provincial officer, was difpatched from Virginia, with four hundred men, to watch the motions of the enemy; and to recover, if opportunity fhould offer, the places they had taken upon the Ohio. Wafhington encamped on the banks of that river, where he threw up fome works for his fecurity, and hoped to be able at leaft to defend himfelf until he fhould receive a reinforcement, which was fpeedily expected from New York.

In the mean time, de Villier, the French commandant on the Monaungahela, having in vain fummoned Wafhington to abandon his poft, marched up to his entrenchments, at the head of eight hundred men, and attempted to carry the works by affault. But Wafhington defended himfelf with fo much intrepidity, as to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive: and he obtained very honourable terms for himfelf and his detachment. It was agreed that both parties fhould retire; the Englifh toward Will's Creek, and the French toward the river Monaungahela. But fcarce were the articles figned, when a frefh body of French and Indians appeared; and although de Villier pretended to adhere to his engagements, he very patiently fuffered the Indians to harafs the Englifh in their retreat, and even to plunder their baggage[11].

No fooner did the courts of London and Verfailles obtain

11. Id. Ibid.

intelligence

intelligence of thoſe violent proceedings, than both were made ſenſible that a rupture was now become inevitable. France continued to ſend reinforcements of men, and ſupplies of money and ſtores to Canada, for the proſecution of her ambitious projects; and orders were ſent, by Great Britain, to the governors of her ſeveral colonies to arm the militia, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to repel the hoſtile attempts of the enemy, until troops could be embarked for their farther protection. But although prepared to cut with the ſword the Gordion knot of a long and intricate negociation, the miniſters of the two kingdoms breathed nothing but peace; and exchanged, in the name of their maſters, reciprocal profeſſions of good will. At length, however, undoubted information having been received in England, that a powerful armament, deſtined for America, was ready to ſail from Breſt and Rochfort, an end was put to diſſimulation.

A. D. 1755.

Rouſed at this information, the Britiſh government equipped, with all poſſible expedition, a fleet under the command of Boſcawen, in order to watch the motions of the enemy; and on the 27th of April, the Engliſh admiral, having taken on board two regiments of ſoldiers, failed from Plymouth with eleven ſhips of the line, and one frigate. He directed his courſe to the banks of Newfoundland; and, a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Breſt, under the command of M. de la Mothe, came to the ſame latitude, in its paſſage to Quebec. But the thick fogs, which prevail on thoſe banks, eſpecially in the ſpring ſeaſon, prevented the hoſtile fleets from ſeeing each other: ſo that part of the French fleet made its way immediately by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Quebec, whilſt the other diviſion paſſed through the dangerous Straits of Belleiſle, and alſo reached the place of its deſtination. Two French ſhips, however, the Alcide and the Lys, the one of ſixty-four, the other of fifty-four guns, being ſeparated in the fog from both diviſions of the fleet, were taken off Cape Race, the moſt ſoutherly point of the

 iſland

iſland of Newfoundland, by the Dunkirk and the Defiance, two ſixty-gun ſhips of the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews.

Although the taking of theſe two ſhips, with which the war with France may be ſaid to have commenced, fell greatly ſhort of the expectations formed from the Engliſh armament, it ſerved nevertheleſs to animate the nation. The people now ſaw, that government was determined to temporiſe no longer, but to repel with vigour the future encroachments of the French upon the Britiſh ſettlements in America, and alſo to chaſtiſe them for their paſt violences. Nor were the Americans wanting to themſelves in exerting a proper ſpirit. The governor and aſſembly of Maſſachuſets' Bay, the chief of the New-England provinces, had paſſed an act toward the cloſe of the year prohibiting all intercourſe with the French at Louiſburg; and, early in the ſpring, they raiſed a body of troops, which they ſent to the aſſiſtance of Mr. Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan he had formed for driving the French from the poſts they had uſurped in that province. The enemy had foreſeen this attempt, and made preparations to reſiſt it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant colonel Monckton, quickly reduced all the French forts, one after another, and reſtored perfect tranquillity to Nova Scotia.

June 15.

The Britiſh arms were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. While colonel Monckton was employed in reducing the French forts in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attacking their poſts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who had been ſent from England for that purpoſe, early in the ſeaſon, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of ſome months, occaſioned by the contractors failing in their engagements, he paſſed the Allegany mountains at the head of two thouſand two hundred men, and

and rapidly advanced toward Fort du Quesne, the chief object of his enterprise. Being informed, during his march, that the garrison of that fort, which had been lately built on the Ohio near its conflux with the Monaungahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the main body, for the sake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through this haste, he did not take sufficient care to reconnoitre the savage country, with which he was as little acquainted as with the nature of an American war, where the danger of surprise is perpetual in woods, defiles, and morasses. And he was too proud to ask the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a sovereign contempt; although Hyde Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own military experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief essays in arms.

In consequence of these unpropitious circumstances, partly arising from the haughty and obstinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the scene of war, and of the nature of the hostilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprise terminated in awful misfortune. As he was advancing with careless confidence, and had arrived within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, so artfully planted in a defile, July 9. that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and bushes, without being themselves exposed to any danger. About noon a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by that time in the middle of the defile. The van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the British troops being seized with a panic, from the unusual appearance and horrid shrieks of the savages who now shewed themselves, a total rout ensued. Braddock himself, however, seemed insensible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he resolutely maintained his station, instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon

cannon to ſcour the thickets with grape-ſhot; and gave orders to the few gallant officers and ſoldiers, who remained about his perſon, to form and advance againſt the almoſt inviſible enemy, whoſe every ſhot did execution. His obſtinacy ſeemed only to increaſe with the danger by which he was preſſed. At length, after having five horſes killed under him, he was mortally wounded in the breaſt by a muſket-ball. Sir Peter Halket, and many other brave officers, with about ſeven hundred private men, alſo were ſlain [12].

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were ſo little affected with the panic that diſordered the regulars, that they offered to advance againſt the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable; the terror of the two front regiments being ſo great, that they never ſtopped their flight till they met the rear-diviſion, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and proviſions of the principal diviſion, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, together with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and inſtructions, of which the French court afterward made great uſe in their printed memorials and manifeſtoes.

Although no enemy purſued, the whole Engliſh army retreated to Fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek, in the back country of Virginia. And there it was expected to have continued during the latter part of the ſummer; but the chief command having devolved on general Shirley in conſequence of the death of Braddock, he ordered all the troops fit for ſervice to march to Albany, in the province of New York. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, were therefore left, during the remainder of the year, expoſed to the barbarous incurſions of the French and their ſcalping Indians.

Thoſe colonies were able to have provided effectually for

12. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* ubi ſup. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

their

their own defence, had they been unanimous in their meaſures. But the uſual diſputes, between their governors and aſſemblies, defeated every ſalutary plan propoſed for that purpoſe. The northern colonies were leſs divided in their councils, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jerſey, following the example of New England, had prohibited all intercourſe with the French ſettlements in North America, at the ſame time that their aſſemblies voted very conſiderable ſupplies: and two expeditions were reſolved upon; one againſt the French fort at Crown Point, the other againſt that at Niagara, both ſuppoſed to be built upon the Britiſh territories.

The expedition againſt Crown Point was committed to the care of a gentleman ſince known by the name of ſir William Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided upon the Mohawk river, in the weſtern parts of New-York; where he had acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and was univerſally beloved, not only by the Engliſh inhabitants, but alſo by the neighbouring Indians, whoſe language he had acquired, and whoſe affections he had won by his humanity and affability. The expedition againſt Niagara was to be conducted by Shirley in perſon.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous of the forces to compoſe both armaments, and moſt of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But by reaſon of the delay in bringing up the artillery, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for the expedition againſt Crown Point, general Johnſon could not ſet out before the end of Auguſt. Shirley was ſooner ready, though not before the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The influence of that intelligence on the ſpirit of the troops was altogether aſtoniſhing. A general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itſelf from rank to rank, and many ſoldiers deſerted: ſo that when Shirley arrived at Oſwego, he had ſcarce the appearance of an army, inſtead of a force ſufficient not only to ſecure the Britiſh ſettlements in thoſe parts,

but

but to reduce the ſtrong fortreſs of Niagara, ſituated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louiſiana. The attempt was therefore laid aſide, as impracticable; and Shirley having marked out the foundations of two new forts in the neighbourhood of Oſwego, which ſtands on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of lake Ontario, and augmented the garriſon of that place to the number of ſeven hundred men, returned ingloriouſly to Albany with the wretched remnant of his army [13].

In the mean time general Johnſon, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieſkau, comander in-chief of the French forces in Canada, at the head of two thouſand men. And although the camp was both naturally and artificially ſtrong, there is reaſon to believe that the French general might have forced it, if he had immediately ſtormed the Engliſh entrenchments. Fortunately, however, he ordered his troops to halt at the diſtance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which was able to do little or no execution upon troops defended by a ſtrong breaſt-work. The Engliſh, meanwhile, plied their great guns and muſketry ſo warmly, that the central body of the enemy, compoſed of the French regulars, began to flag in their fire; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, ſquatted below buſhes, or ſkulked behind trees. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, the Engliſh and their Indian allies leaped over the breaſtwork, and completed the diſcomfiture of the aſſailants. After killing many, and entirely diſperſing the whole, they took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was Dieſkau himſelf, an old and experienced officer, who was mortally wounded [14]. But this action, though deciſive in favour of the Engliſh, was followed by no important conſequences; as general Johnſon did not think it pru-

13. Id. ibid. 14. Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1755.

dent

dent to purſue his victory, and it was found too late in the ſeaſon to proceed to the attack of Crown Point.

Such was the termination of the firſt campaign in North America; which, all things conſidered, notwithſtanding the defeat of Dieſkau, and the expulſion of the French out of Nova Scotia, was eſtimated to the diſadvantage of Great Britain. But that diſadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of French merchants' ſhips that had been captured during the ſummer. No ſooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the Alcide and Lys, which it was thought would be conſidered by the court of Verſailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was iſſued by the Britiſh miniſtry, to make prize of all French ſhips on the high ſeas, wherever they might be found. In conſequence of that order, above three hundred trading veſſels belonging to France, many of which were very valuable, being laden with Weſt India produce, and about eight thouſand ſeamen, were brought into the ports of England, before the end of the year [15].

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no repriſals. As this inaction could not be imputed to moderation, it was juſtly aſcribed to a conſciouſneſs of their inferiority at ſea, and a deſire of intereſting in their cauſe the other European powers. Stunned by the unexpected blow, that impaired their naval ſtrength, and diſtreſſed the trading part of the kingdom, they were at a loſs how to proceed; having always flattered themſelves, that the anxiety of George II. for the ſafety of his German dominions, which they had for ſome time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous meaſure, notwithſtanding their encroachments in America. But diſcovering at length their miſtake, by the capture of their ſhips, and ſeeing no hopes of reſtitution, the court of Madrid having declined the dangerous office of mediator, they now reſolved to put their threats in execution;

15. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi ſup.

and

and an army of two hundred thousand men, with their vicinity to the country to be invaded, seemed to promise the most brilliant success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. A violent earthquake, which shook all Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and altogether destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely, as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold [16].

Nov. 1.

16. Id. ibid.

LETTER XXXII.

General View of the State of EUROPE *in 1756, with an Account of the Operations of War, in all Parts of the World, till the Conquest of* HANOVER *by the* FRENCH, *in 1757.*

NO sooner did France resolve to invade the electorate of Hanover, and the king of Great Britain to defend it, than both became sensible of the necessity of new alliances. Spain and Portugal seemed determined to remain neutral, and the States-general of the United Provinces

A. D. 1756.

vinces politically purſued the ſame line of conduct. The German powers were leſs quietly diſpoſed.

The court of Vienna, ever ſince the treaty of Breſlaw, but more eſpecially ſince that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had viewed the riſing greatneſs of the king of Pruſſia with envious eyes. The empreſs queen had never been reconciled to the loſs of Sileſia; one of the moſt fertile countries in Europe, and which yielded a clear annual revenue of four millions of dollars, to a rival whom ſhe perſonally hated. She accordingly entered ſecretly into a league with the empreſs of Ruſſia for the recovery of that fine province, and even for ſtripping the king of Pruſſia of his hereditary dominions. But this league, into which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, alſo was drawn, did not eſcape the vigilance of the penetrating Frederick. And time and circumſtances enabled him to break its force, before the ſcheme of his enemies was ripe for execution.

As ſoon as the king of Great Britain ſaw his German dominions ſeriouſly threatened by the French, who had already formed magazines in Weſtphalia, with the conſent of the elector of Cologne, he applied to the court of Vienna for the troops which it was bound to furniſh by treaty. But the empreſs-queen excuſed herſelf from fulfilling her engagements, under pretence that the war having originated in America, did not come within the terms of her treaty with the court of London. Thus diſappointed by the imperial court, as well as in his application to the States-general, his Britannic majeſty concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the court of Peterſburg; in conſequence of which the empreſs of Ruſſia engaged to hold in readineſs, for his ſupport, an army of fifty-five thouſand men, on the frontiers of Lithuania, and to put them in motion on the firſt notice.

This treaty was perfectly agreeable to the court of Vienna, whoſe ſecret views it was calculated to promote; as it afforded the Ruſſians a decent pretext for entering Germany, and even encouraged them to ſuch a meaſure by a liberal

subsidy. The two empresses, therefore, flattered themselves, that they should not only be able to accomplish their ambitious project, but to make Great Britain bear the expence of the execution of it. The ruin of the king of Prussia seemed inevitable to all the powers who expected to share in his dominions. His own sagacity, however, at once saved him from the machinations of his enemies, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. Though assured of the friendship of France, and acquainted with her views, he boldly declared, That he would oppose the introduction of foreign troops into the empire, under whatsoever pretence, and consider as enemies those who should attempt to introduce them.

The king of Great Britain, alarmed at this strong declaration, yet pleased with its professed object, the exclusion of foreign troops, concluded at Westminster, on that principle, a treaty with the king of Prussia; not doubting but he should still be able to preserve a good understanding with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg. But the house of Austria, forgetting its jealousy of the family of Bourbon, in its animosity against the Prussian monarch, not only entered into a league with France, along with Russia and Sweden, but partly gave up its barrier in the Netherlands, which had been acquired by torrents of British blood, and millions of British treasure, in order to cement more closely the unnatural confederacy. These new and singular alliances, signed at Versailles, necessarily drew tighter the bands of union between George II. and his nephew, the king of Prussia.

Jan. 16.

May 1.

Meanwhile the people of Great Britain, having no confidence in their ministry, were seized with a shameful panic, notwithstanding their naval superiority, at the rumour of a French invasion. That panic was in some measure dissipated, by the arrival of a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, for the protection of the kingdom. But new jealousies and fears arose, as soon as the alarm of the invasion subsided;

 the

the foreign troops being represented, by the dissatisfied part of the nation, as the most dangerous enemies of the state. The attention of the public was, however, called off from that object, for a time, by the news of the invasion of the island of Minorca by a French armament under the duke de Richelieu. This measure was immediately followed, on the part of Great Britain, by a declaration of war against France, which was answered by a counter-declaration from the court of Versailles. May 18.

The English populace, who in all great political contests may be said to direct the resolutions of the throne, were pleased with that indication of spirit in the government, as well as with the treaty with the king of Prussia; which was also approved by the parliament, and industriously represented by the court as essential to the support of the protestant interest in Germany. But certain unfortunate events revived the clamour against the ministry, and increased the national despondency, for which there was but too much cause; the martial spirit of the people being almost extinct, and the councils of the sovereign divided. These matters will require some explication.

Various causes had contributed to the extinction of the martial spirit in Great Britain. The long peace that succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the establishment of a standing army, and the consequent neglect of the militia, all had a tendency to estrange the people of England from the use of arms. The citizen having delivered his sword into the hands of the hireling soldier, chearfully contributed to the expences of government, and looked up for safety to a band of mercenaries, whom he considered as dangerous to public liberty.

That disinclination to arms, increased by a lucrative commerce, was encouraged by the court; which, during the whole reign of the first, and great part of that of the second George, was under perpetual alarm on account of the in-

trigues of the adherents of the houfe of Stuart. The war between Great Britain and Spain, which began in the year 1739, and afterwards involved all Europe, revived, in fome degree, a martial fpirit in the Britifh army and navy. But the body of the people of England, as appeared on the irruption of the Highlanders, in 1745, had relinquifhed all confidence in themfelves. Being accuftomed to pay for protection, though jealous of their very protectors, they trembled before a fmall body of defperate mountaineers.

Many motions were made in parliament, that the militia might be put on a refpectable footing, for the general fecurity of the kingdom. But the jealoufy of government long prevented any effectual ftep being taken for that purpofe; while the peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by relaxing ftill farther the manners of the nation, had made the people yet lefs warlike. And as the fmall ftanding army, widely difperfed over the extenfive dominions of the empire, was evidently infufficient for its protection, the unarmed and undifciplined inhabitants of Great Britain were juftly filled with terror and apprehenfion at the profpect of a French invafion.

In this extremity a militia-bill, on the fame principles with the law now in force, was framed by the honourable Charles Townfhend, and paffed the Houfe of Commons, but was rejected by the Houfe of Peers. Thus deprived of the only conftitutional means of defence, by a government that owes its exiftence to the fuffrage of the people, and a family which reigns but by their voice, England fubmitted to the indignity of calling in foreign mercenaries, for her defence againft an enemy who had often trembled at the fhaking of her fpear, and who was now more her inferior than in any former period, in every naval and military refource.

That indignity was keenly felt by all orders of men in the ftate, and the national defpondency, and the orderly behaviour of the foreign troops, only could have prevented a popular infurrection. The principal fervants of the crown, on

whom

whom the public indignation chiefly fell, were ſeverely blamed for expoſing the kingdom to ſuch an indelible diſgrace. The miniſtry, indeed, had never been properly ſettled ſince the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754. That miniſter, though ſufficiently diſpoſed to gratify his ſovereign in his paſſion for German alliances and continental politics, was believed to be at bottom a ſincere friend to his country, and to the liberties of the people. His brother the duke of Newcaſtle, who ſucceeded him as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and who was no leſs compliant to the court, poſſeſſed neither his virtues nor his talents; and Mr. Fox, who had lately been appointed ſecretary of ſtate, and was conſidered as the oſtenſible miniſter, though a man of abilities, was ſuppoſed to be void of principle. He was beſides very unpopular, as he had made the motion in the Houſe of Commons for bringing over the Hanoverians and Heſſians, inſtead of adopting any vigorous meaſure for internal defence.

The Britiſh miniſtry, however, were blamed for events which it was not altogether in their power to govern, diſtracted as they were by the national panic. And in order to increaſe that panic, as well as to conceal their deſign upon Minorca, the French had marched down large bodies of troops to their maritime provinces, contiguous to the coaſt of England. Nor were their naval preparations leſs formidable. Beſide a great number of frigates and flat-bottomed boats, which might be employed as tranſports, they had near forty ſhips of the line at Breſt and other ports on the ocean. It was therefore judged prudent to keep a ſuperior Engliſh fleet in the Channel; and as it was conjectured the French could not have above ſix or eight ſail of the line at Toulon, an Engliſh ſquadron of only ten ſail of the line, two ſhips of forty-eight guns, and three frigates, was ſent into the Mediterranean.

The command of this ſquadron was given to admiral Byng, ſon of the celebrated naval officer of that name, who deſtroyed the Spaniſh fleet off Meſſina, in 1718. When

Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where his ſquadron was augmented by an additional ſhip of the line, he learned that the French had already landed fifteen thouſand men in the iſland of Minorca, and were beſieging the caſtle of St. Philip, which commands the town and port of Mahon. Having on board a reinforcement for the garriſon of that fortreſs, he immediately ſailed for the place of his deſtination, after receiving a detachment from the garriſon of Gibraltar. He was joined on his way by the Phœnix frigate, commanded by captain Harvey; who confirmed his former intelligence, and informed him particularly of the ſtrength of the enemy's fleet. It conſiſted of twelve ſail of the line and five frigates, under the marquis de la Galiſſoniere.

On the approach of the Engliſh admiral to the harbour of Mahon, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Britiſh colours ſtill flying on the caſtle of St. Philip. But, notwithſtanding that animating circumſtance, his attempts for its relief were feeble and ineffectual. In a word, Mr. Byng ſeems to have been utterly diſcouraged, from the moment he learned the ſtrength of the French fleet, though little ſuperior to his own, and to have given up Minorca for loſt as ſoon as he heard it was invaded. This fully appears, both from his ſubſequent conduct, and from his letter to the ſecretary of the admiralty, before he arrived at Mahon. In that letter, (which forms a kind of prelude to the account of his miſcarriage) after lamenting that he did not reach Minorca before the landing of the French, he expreſſed himſelf thus:—"I am "firmly of opinion, that throwing men into the Caſtle will "only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the "numbers that muſt fall into the enemy's hands; for the "garriſon, in time, will be obliged to ſurrender, unleſs a "ſufficient number of men could be landed to raiſe the "ſiege. I am determined, however, to ſail up to Minorca "with the ſquadron, where I ſhall be a better judge of the "ſituation of affairs, and will give general Blakeney all the "aſſiſtance he ſhall require. But I am afraid all communi-

cation

" cation will be cut off between us; for if the enemy have " erected batteries on the two ſhores near the entrance of " the harbour, (an advantage ſcarce to be ſuppoſed they " have neglected) it will render it impoſſible for our boats " to have a paſſage to the ſally-port of the garriſon [1]."

Admiral Byng's behaviour was conformable to thoſe deſponding ideas. When the French admiral advanced, to prevent him from throwing troops into the citadel of Mahon, he diſpoſed his fleet in order of battle; but kept at ſuch a diſtance, under pretence of preſerving the line unbroken, that *his* diviſion did very little damage to the enemy, and his own noble ſhip of ninety guns was never properly in the engagement. The diviſion under rear-admiral Weſt, however, the ſecond in command, drove three of the French ſhips out of the line: and, if ſupported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng is ſaid to have told his captain, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who incurred the cenſure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in raſhly violating the laws of naval diſcipline!

May 20.

The conſequences of this indeciſive action were ſuch as had been foreſeen by thoſe acquainted with the ſentiments of the Engliſh admiral. Byng, though in ſome meaſure victorious, as the French admiral bore away to ſupport that part of his line which had been broken by Mr. Weſt, and although the Engliſh fleet had loſt only about forty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had ſuſtained a defeat. The reaſons aſſigned for that retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns; his apprehenſions for the ſafety of Gibraltar,

1. *Letter* from on board the Ramillies, Gibraltar Bay, to Mr. Cleveland, Secretary of the Admiralty, May 4, 1756. " If I ſhould fail in the relief of " Port Mahon," adds he, " I ſhall look upon the ſecurity and protec- " tion of Gibraltar as my next object, and ſhall repair down *here* with the " ſquadron. J. B."

raltar, and the impoſſibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared, on the fulleſt evidence, that no attempt to afford ſuch relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the ſally-port of the caſtle, was very practicable [2].

The French fleet, on the retreat of admiral Byng, returned to its ſtation off the harbour of Mahon. And the garriſon of fort St. Philip, being thus deprived of all hope of relief, general Blakeney, the governor, ſurrendered the place, and with it the iſland of Minorca, after a ſiege of nine weeks.— The defence was not ſo vigorous as might have been expected, conſidering the ſtrength of the works, the advantageous ſituation of the caſtle or citadel, and the rocky ſoil, which renders it almoſt impracticable to open trenches. But the garriſon was too ſmall by one third, not exceeding three thouſand men: the beſiegers were numerous, amounting to near twenty thouſand, and repeatedly reinforced with freſh regiments, after the retreat of the Engliſh fleet. Their train of artillery was awfully formidable, conſiſting of near one hundred pieces of battering cannon, beſide mortars and howitzers. The duke de Richelieu puſhed his approaches with ardour, and even led on his troops in perſon to ſeveral deſperate aſſaults. Therefore, although only two of the outworks were taken when the capitulation was ſigned, and but one hundred of the garriſon ſlain, while the French had loſt about five thouſand of their beſt troops, the conduct of Blakeney, when contraſted with that of Byng, appeared to ſuch advantage, that he became extremely popular on his arrival in England, notwithſtanding his want of ſucceſs, and was raiſed by his ſovereign to the peerage.

The fortune of admiral Byng was very different. The public cry was loud againſt him; and he was odious to the miniſtry, on whom he had endeavoured to throw the blame of his miſcarriage. He was ſuperſeded by ſir Edward Hawke

2. See the *Examination* of Lord Blakeney and Mr. Boyd in the printed *Trial of Admiral John Byng*.

in

in the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and brought home under arreſt to be tried for his life.

The news of the taking of Minorca tranſported the French populace, and even the court, with the moſt extravagant joy and exultation. Nothing was to be ſeen, in France, but triumphs and proceſſions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victor. —The people of England were depreſſed in an equal degree, when informed of the loſs of that important place. But inſtead of aſcribing it to the number and valour of the French ſoldiers and ſailors, or to the ſkill of their commanders, the great body of the Engliſh nation imputed it wholly to the cowardice of admiral Byng, and the improvidence of the Britiſh miniſtry. Petitions accordingly poured in from all quarters, demanding juſtice, and an inquiry into the conduct of adminiſtration relative to Minorca.

Meanwhile a general hope prevailed, that misfortune would not extend to every ſcene of action. And very ſanguine expectations were entertained of ſucceſs in North America; where the war had originated, and where our moſt eſſential intereſts were ſuppoſed to be at ſtake. Orders had been iſſued for raiſing, in the Engliſh colonies, four battalions of regulars, which were ſoon completed, and diſciplined by experienced officers. Two additional regiments were ſent from the mother-country. And government reſolved to take upon itſelf the whole weight and conduct of the war in America, on account of the diviſions in the provincial aſſemblies. The earl of Loudon was appointed commander in chief of all the Britiſh forces there, and general Abercrombie ſucceeded Shirley, as ſecond in command.

The plan of operations for the campaign was great, yet promiſing and flattering. It was propoſed to reduce the fortreſs of Niagara, ſituated, as already obſerved, at the junction of the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louiſiana, and prevent the French from ſupporting their new poſts upon the Ohio; to

beſiege

beſiege Fort du Queſne, the principal of thoſe poſts; to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of invaſion, and Great Britain acquire the command of lake Champlain, over which forces might be tranſported in caſe of any attempt upon Quebec. Albany was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous.

At that ſtation general Abercrombie arrived on the fifth day of June, and aſſumed the command of the forces there aſſembled. They conſiſted of about four thouſand regulars, including the American battalions; four iudependent companies belonging to the colony of New York; a regiment of militia from New Jerſey; a formidable body of men raiſed by the New England provinces, and four companies levied in North Carolina.

The Engliſh colonies toward the ſouth, but eſpecially Virginia and Maryland, had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from the ravages of the French and Indians, to which they were ſtill expoſed, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could defend themſelves. The inhabitants of Penſylvania, of whom Quakers form the moſt conſiderable body, though expoſed to ſimilar barbarities, could hardly be prevailed upon to make any proviſion for their own ſecurity; but, inſtead of ſending troops to the general rendezvous, when ſmote on one ſide of the head, they preſented the other to the ſavage aſſailant. And the number of negro ſlaves, in South Carolina, above the due proportion of white inhabitants, was ſo great, that the aſſembly judged it inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the province to ſpare any part of their domeſtic force for diſtant enterpriſes.

The army aſſembled at Albany, however, though perhaps too ſmall to have completed the whole extenſive plan of operations, was of ſufficient ſtrength to have performed very eſſential ſervice, if it had entered immediately upon action. But as general Abercrombie delayed the execution of every part of that plan until the arrival of lord Loudon (which proved

proved too late in the ſeaſon for any thing of conſequence to be afterward effected, or at leaſt undertaken with a reaſonable probability of ſucceſs), another campaign was loſt to Great Britain, through neglect and procraſtination; while time was afforded the French, not only to take precautions at their leiſure againſt any future attempt on their back ſettlements, but to proceed unmoleſted in their ambitious ſcheme of encroaching on the Britiſh colonies, and reducing all our fortifications in the neighbourhood of the Lakes. The marquis de Montcalm, who had ſucceeded Dieſkau in the command of the forces in Canada, and who poſſeſſed a bold military genius, accordingly inveſted Oſwego, and reduced it in a few days. The garriſon, to the number of ſixteen hundred men, were made priſoners of war; and, beſide ſeven armed veſſels and two hundred battoes, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions, alſo fell into the hands of the enemy [3].

So unfortunate for Great Britain was the iſſue of the ſecond campaign in North America! Nor did our affairs wear a more favourable aſpect in the Eaſt Indies. Admiral Watſon, who commanded the Britiſh fleet in thoſe latitudes, had indeed, in the beginning of the year, reduced Gheria; the principal fortreſs of Tulagee Angria, a pyratical prince, whoſe anceſtors had eſtabliſhed themſelves near Bombay, on the coaſt of Malabar, and who had there become rich and powerful by pillaging European veſſels. And the Engliſh factories at Madraſs and Fort St. David, where hoſtilities could never be ſaid to have ceaſed, were able to maintain their ground againſt the French and their Indian allies. But deſtruction came from an unexpected quarter, and fell upon a place that was thought to be in the moſt perfect ſecurity.

The vaſt commerce of England to the Eaſt Indies, ſince the middle of the preſent century, and her immenſe territorial

3. Paris *Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1756.

acquiſitions

acquiſitions in Bengal, where this blow was ſtruck, provoke me to attempt a deſcription of that rich country, whoſe memorable revolutions I ſhall have occaſion to relate.

Bengal, the moſt eaſterly province of Indoſtan, lies between the twentieth and twenty-ſeventh degrees of north latitude, and extends from eaſt to weſt almoſt ſeven hundred miles. As Ægypt owes its fertility to the Nile, Bengal is indebted for its opulence to the Ganges. This magnificent body of water, after having received, in a courſe of ſix hundred miles, from its irruption through the mountains on the frontier of India, to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, ſeven large rivers, and many inferior tributary ſtreams, enters the province of Bengal near the mountain of Tacriagully, whoſe foot it waſhes, and whence it runs in a ſouth-eaſt direction to the ſea.

An hundred miles below Tacriagully, the Ganges ſtretches towards the ſouth an arm, which is called the river Coſſimbuzar; and fifty miles lower, another arm, called the Jelingeer; which, after flowing about forty miles to the ſouth-weſt, unites with the Coſſimbuzar at a town named Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of the Coſſimbuzar and Jelingeer is ſometimes called the *Little Ganges*, but more commonly the river Hughley; which, after flowing one hundred and twenty miles in a ſouthern direction, enters the ſea at the iſland of Sagor.

The principal ſtream of the Ganges, which, for the ſake of diſtinction, is called the *Great Ganges*, continues to receive, from the going out of the Coſſimbuzar, to the middle of the twenty-ſecond degree of latitude, a multitude of ſmall rivers. There its flood is joined by that of the Baramputrah, a yet greater river, which riſes on the eaſtern ſide of thoſe vaſt mountains that ſend forth the Ganges to the weſt. The conflux of thoſe two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed ſeveral large iſlands between their junction and the open ſea, which their waters reach about thirty-five miles lower.

Tacriagully is the termination of a ſtupendous range of mountains, which accompanies the courſe of the Ganges from the weſt. And about fifty miles beyond Tacriagully, where theſe mountains begin to form the northern boundary of Bengal on the weſtern ſide of the Ganges, another range of mountains ſtrikes from the ſouth, but in a curve ſwelling weſtward, which terminates within ſight of the ſea, about thirty miles from Ballaſore. To the north, thoſe mountains divide Bengal from the ſouthern diviſion of Behar or Bahar; and, to the ſouth, they ſeem the natural ſeparation of Bengal from Orixa. Eaſtward, the province of Bengal extends as far as Rangamatty; a town belonging to the king of Aſſem, on the river Baramputrah.

The ſea-coaſt of Bengal, between the mouth of the river Hughley and that of the Great Ganges, extends, from eaſt to weſt, one hundred and eighty miles; and the whole is a dreary inhoſpitable ſhore, which ſands and whirlpools render inacceſſible to ſhips of burden. For ſeveral miles within land, the country is interſected by numerous channels, through which both rivers diſembogue themſelves, by many mouths, into the ocean; and the iſlands formed by theſe channels are covered with thickets, and occupied chiefly by beaſts of prey. But the country higher up is very differently inhabited; and ſo deſirable, that it has been called the *Paradiſe of India.*

The triangle formed by the Coſſimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the weſt, by the Great Ganges to the eaſt, and by the ſea-coaſt to the ſouth, as well as a large tract, on each hand, to the north of this Delta, is as level as the Lower Ægypt, and no where exhibits a ſingle ſtone. The ſoil is a ſtratum of the richeſt mould, lying on a deep ſand; which being interſperſed with ſhells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of that immenſe plain as are not watered by the Ganges or its branches, are fertilized by many other ſtreams from the mountains, and for the ſpace

of

of three months, from May to Auguſt, when the ſun is moſtly vertical, heavy rains fall every day[4].

In conſequence of theſe advantages of ſoil and climate, the inhabitants of Bengal are enabled to ſubſiſt by leſs labour than the people of any other country on the face of the earth. Rice, which forms the baſis of their food, is produced in ſuch plenty, that two pounds are often ſold for a farthing. Many other grains, and a vaſt variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the ſpices that enter into their diet, are raiſed with equal eaſe, and in the greateſt abundance. Salt is found in the iſlands near the ſea, and the ſugar-cane thrives every where. Fiſh ſwarm in all the ſtreams and ponds; and the cattle, though ſmall, are incredibly numerous. Hence, in ſpite of deſpotiſm, the province is extremely populous: and the labours of agriculture being few and light, many hands are left for the fine fabrics of the loom, the principal branch of oriental induſtry. More pieces of cotton and ſilk are accordingly manufactured in Bengal, notwithſtanding the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants, who are utterly deſtitute of all vigour of mind[5], than in any other country of Indoſtan of three times the ſame extent; and as theſe manufactures are chiefly intended for exportation, and ſold cheaper than any where elſe, the trade of Bengal has ever excited the avidity of the Europeans, ſince navigation opened them a paſſage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

As early as the year 1640, the agents of the Engliſh Eaſt India company obtained leave to build a factory at Hughley; a town ſituated on the river of the ſame name, about one hundred miles from the ſea, and then the principal port in the province of Bengal. But the officers of the Mogul government ſuperintended the progreſs of the buildings, and ob-

4. Orme, book vi.

5. This languor may be aſcribed partly to the climate, and partly to the vegetable diet of the inhabitants, whoſe religion precludes them the uſe of animal food.

jected

jected to every thing which resembled, or might be converted into a station of defence; the court of Delhi, at that time, disdaining to allow, in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any sovereignty but its own, or the erection of a single bastion by any European power [6]. Nor does this contradict what has been formerly said of the first European settlements on the sea-cost of Indostan; the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, having either been purchased, or wrested from princes who had not submitted to the Great Mogul.

The same jealous policy that prohibited the English from erecting fortifications, also forbid the introduction of military force. An ensign and thirty men, to do honour to the principal agents, were all the troops the East India company was permitted to keep at Hughley. In this naked condition, and in consequence of it, exposed to frequent fines and exactions, the factory continued, until the year 1686; when, as a remedy against such arbitrary impositions, an attempt was made by the Company to establish a defensible post by force of arms. The enterprise ultimately failed: yet were the English agents permitted to settle a factory at Soota-nutty, about ten miles lower, on the same river, than Hughley, in 1689; and the year following, they received a *phirmaund* or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually a stipulated sum.

These indulgences were granted to the English from an apprehension of their utterly abandoning the trade of Bengal, as they had removed to Madrass after the miscarriage of their armament. And other causes contributed to root them more firmly in that province. In 1696, the rajahs on the western side of the river Hughley took up arms; and the principal part of the nabob's forces being then with the court at Dacca, the rebels, headed by the rajah of Burdawan, made great progress, before a body of troops sufficient to oppose them

6. Orme, ubi sup.

could

could be aſſembled. They took Hughley, plundered Muxadavad, and thence proceeded to Rajahmahal.

On the rise of this rebellion, all the European factories in the province of Bengal augmented their ſoldiery, and declared for the nabob; earneſtly requeſting, at the ſame time, his permiſſion to put their ſeveral ſettlements in a poſture of defence againſt the common enemy. The nabob, in general terms, deſired them to provide for their ſafety. An apology for ſo doing was what they had all along ſought. Happy, therefore, in being furniſhed with an order ſo conformable to their views, the Dutch raiſed walls, with baſtions, round their factory, about a mile to the ſouth of Hughley. The French fortified with no leſs diligence, and more ſkill, their ſettlement at Chandernagore, two miles lower on the river; and the Engliſh, as their bulwark, erected Fort William at Calcutta, a ſmall town where they had built their principal magazines, contiguous to Soota-nutty [7]. Such was the origin of the three European fortifications in the province of Bengal.

From the time that the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves at Calcutta, which they were ſoon after permitted to purchaſe, together with its territory, from the Zemendar or Indian proprietor, the trade of the company continued to flouriſh, in ſpite of many diſcouragements from home: and the town increaſed wonderfully in population, notwithſtanding the jealouſy of the nabob. The company's agents had even the addreſs to obtain from the Great Mogul, in 1717, the privilege of paſſports or *duſtucks*; which, being recognized throughout the province of Bengal, their goods were thenceforth exempted from cuſtoms, and no longer liable to be ſtopped by the officers of the revenue.

This was a ſingular indulgence, and contributed greatly to facilitate and augment the trade of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company; more eſpecially as none of the other European

7. Orme's *Hiſt. Indoſt.* book vi.

companies

companies were entitled to the ſame indulgence, nor any of the natives except two or three principal merchants, who purchaſed it from the nabob at an exorbitant price[8]. But the envy and jealouſy, occaſioned by thoſe advantages, excited againſt the Engliſh the hatred both of the European and country powers; and that jealous hate, in the latter, brought on the fatal cataſtrophe, which makes this digreſſion neceſſary.

On the death of the nabob, or more properly Subah Allaverdy, who had governed with great ability, for many years, the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, the ſupreme authority devolved, according to his deſtination, upon his grandſon Surajah Dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, ſuſpicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his ſecurity to the inability of any power within his juriſdiction to hurt him. The Engliſh had particularly awakened his apprehenſions by the taking of Gheria, a fortreſs deemed impregnable in Indoſtan, by their increaſing ſtrength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their ſettlement at Calcutta.

A. D. 1756.

Other circumſtances conſpired to point the reſentment of Surajah Dowlah immediately againſt the Engliſh factory in Bengal. He was informed, and not altogether without foundation, that the agents of the Eaſt India Company had abuſed their privilege of *duſtucks*; by making them ſubſervient not only to the importation of European, and the exportation of India goods, but to the importation of commodities from other parts of Indoſtan, and even of the ſame province, to the great diminution of the public revenue, and in direct contradiction to the purpoſe for which they had been granted, the encouragement of foreign commerce. He therefore determined to get thoſe paſſports recalled by the court of Delhi, or to deny the validity, and alſo to puniſh the abuſe. And

8. Id. ibid.

the governor and council of Calcutta, by refusing to deliver up to him a noble refugee, who had taken shelter with all his treasures within their presidency, farther confirmed him in his hostile resolution.

Enraged at this refusal, though seemingly occasioned by misapprehension, the nabob, who had assembled an army of fifty thousand men, with an intention of striking a blow in a distant quarter, ordered it to march directly toward Calcutta; where the English, he was told, were building new fortifications. He himself headed his troops; and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. Sufficient force, however, remained for the accomplishment of his enterprise. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in Fort William; a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Conscious of his inability to hold out, Mr. Drake, the governor, called at two in the morning a council of war, to which all except
June 19. the common soldiers were admitted; and after debating long, Whether they should immediately escape to the company's ships in the river, or defer their retreat until the following night, the council broke up, without coming to any positive determination. But as the first proposal was not carried into execution, the second was generally understood to have been embraced.

Meanwhile the besiegers vigorously pushed their attacks, and hoped every moment to carry the fort by storm. Filled with terror, and utterly unacquainted with military service, many of the company's servants, and even some members of the council, went off to the ships. A party of militia, it was observed, that had conducted the women on board the preceding night, did not return to the garrison. They who remained in it looked at one another with wild affright. The governor, who had hitherto discovered no want of courage, now panic-struck at the thought of falling into the hands

hands of Surajah Dowlah, who had threatened to put him to death, hurried into a boat that lay at the wharf, without apprifing the garrifon of his intention. The military commanding officer, and feveral other perfons of diftinction, pufillanimoufly followed his example, and accompanied him to one of the fhips.

The aftonifhment of the garrifon at this defertion could only be equalled by their indignation. Nothing was heard for a time but execrations againft the fugitives. At length, however, the tumultuous concourfe proceeded to deliberation: and Mr. Pearkes, the eldeft member of the council left in the fort, having refigned his right of feniority to Mr. Holwell, that gentleman was unanimoufly invefted with the chief command. The number of militia and foldiery now remaining, amounted only to one hundred and ninety men. The new commander, therefore, having feen fome boats return to the wharf, locked the gate leading to the river, in order to prevent future defertions.

The fame prompitude and fpirit diftinguifhed Mr. Holwell's whole conduct. But all his gallant efforts were found infufficient to preferve the fort. Soon convinced of their weaknefs, and confcious of their danger, the garrifon threw out fignals for the fhips or boats to repair to the wharf. That rational hope of efcape, however, failed them. One fhip having ftruck on a fand-bank, not a fingle veffel of any kind offered afterward to yield them a retreat. As a laft refource, Mr. Holwell threw a letter from the ramparts, intimating a defire to capitulate; many of the garrifon having been killed fince the departure of the governor, and more of the furvivors thrown into a ftate of defpondency. Encouraged by this indication of weaknefs, the befiegers made a defperate but ineffectual affault; after which one of the nabob's officers appeared with a flag of truce. It was anfwered by another from the fort. A parley enfued; but before any articles of capitulation could be fettled, the troops of Surajah Dowlah forced open one of the gates, and made

June 20.

themſelves maſters of the place, though without putting any of the garriſon to the ſword [9].

About an hour after the taking of Fort William, the nabob entered it, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and moſt of the great officers of his army. Having given directions for ſecuring the Company's treaſure, he ſeated himſelf, with all the ſtate of an Aſiatic conqueror, in the principal apartment of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. On the firſt appearance of that gentleman, Surajah Dowlah expreſſed violent reſentment at the preſumption of the Engliſh, in daring to reſiſt his power, and chagrin at the ſmallneſs of the ſum found in the treaſury. Softened, however, in the courſe of three conferences, he diſmiſſed the Engliſh chief, as he thought proper to call him, with repeated aſſurances, on the word of a ſoldier, that he ſhould ſuffer no harm.

Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, Mr. Holwell and his unfortunate companions (whom he found, on his return, ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard) were forced into the common dungeon of the fort, uſually called the *The Black Hole*, about eight o'clock in the evening; and in that dungeon, only eighteen feet ſquare, were they condemned to paſs the night in one of the hotteſt climates of the earth, and in the hotteſt ſeaſon of that climate. They could receive no air but through two ſmall grated windows, almoſt totally blocked up by a neighbouring building, which deprived them of the common benefit even of the ſultry atmoſphere. Their diſtreſs was inexpreſſible, in conſequence of the heat, and the preſſure of their bodies, as ſoon as the door was ſhut. They attempted to force it open, but without effect. Rage ſucceeded diſappointment. The keeneſt invectives were uttered, in order to provoke the guard to put an end to their wretched lives, by firing into the dungeon; and whilſt ſome, in the agonies and torment of deſpair, were blaſpheming their

9 Orme, ubi ſup.

Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from heaven, in wild and incoherent prayers.

Mr. Holwell, who had taken his ſtation at one of the windows, exhorted his fellow-ſufferers to compoſure, as the only means of ſurviving till morning. In the mean time he addreſſed himſelf to an old Jemautdar, an officer of the guard, who ſeemed to have ſome marks of humanity in his countenance, promiſing him a thouſand rupees, if he would ſeparate them into different apartments. He retired to procure an order for that purpoſe; but returned in a few minutes, with a ſorrowful face, and ſaid it was *impoſſible!* Miſapprehending his meaning, Mr. Holwell proffered him a larger ſum. He retired a ſecond time, and again returned with the ſame woe-foreboding look; while the priſoners rent the air with their cries to the guard, to open the dungeon, and drank their own ſweat to relieve their thirſt.

"Unhappy men!"—ſaid the Jemautdar,—"ſubmit to "neceſſity. The Subah is aſleep!—and what ſlave dares "diſturb his repoſe [10]?"—A ſtronger picture of deſpotiſm was never drawn, nor a deeper ſcene of human miſery exhibited.

All ſentiments of friendſhip, compaſſion, or reſpect, were henceforth extinguiſhed in the breaſts of the devoted priſoners. No one would give way for the relief of another; but every one employed his utmoſt ſtrength to obtain a place near the windows, or to maintain that ſtation. The feeble ſunk, never more to riſe, and were trampled upon by their ſtronger companions. The havock of death and the ſtruggle for air continued until morning appeared; when, the door being opened, of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, thruſt into the Black Hole, twenty-three only were brought out alive. And Mr. Holwell, and other two of the ſurvivors, were condemned to farther ſufferings. They were ſent priſoners to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, in hopes of extorting from them, by cruel uſage, a confeſſion of the factory's hidden treaſures. Calcutta was pillaged, and

10. Holwell's *Narrative*. Orme, book vii.

Fort William secured by a garrison of three thousand men [11]. The affairs of the English East India Company seemed finally ruined in Bengal.

The accumulated misfortunes of Great Britain did not, however, discourage the king of Prussia, her brave ally, from taking vigorous measures in order to defeat the designs of his numerous enemies; or to acquire that ascendant in Germany which he had long been ambitious of attaining, and which was now become in some degree necessary for his own preservation, as well as to enable him to fulfil his political engagements with his Britannic majesty. Nor did George II. fail to act with proper dignity. He ordered his electoral minister to deliver a memorial to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise, to find the treaty which he had lately concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and terror; that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of Germany; and the empress-queen, notwithstanding her obligations to Great Britain, had denied him the succours stipulated by treaties, he had negociated that alliance merely for the security of his own dominions, and the preservation of the tranquillity of the empire, neglected by its head [12].

The behaviour of his Prussian majesty was still more stately. Having ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the hostile preparations he saw making on the frontiers of Silesia, and receiving only evasive answers, he resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies, by carrying the war into their dominions, instead of coolly waiting its approach in his own. And he called Heaven and earth to witness, That the empress-queen alone would be chargeable with all the innocent blood that might be spilt, and the dismal consequences that must attend the prosecution of hostilities, by refusing the declaration which he had required;

11. Id. ibid.

12. Printed *Memorial*.

namely,

namely, "that ſhe had no intention to attack him either this "year or the next." He had conſtituted her, he ſaid, arbitreſs of peace or war; and her military preparations and myſterious replies left him no room to doubt which alternative ſhe had choſen, though ſhe declined a liberal and open deciſion of the momentous queſtion.

In order to invade Bohemia with ſucceſs, it is not only convenient, but almoſt neceſſary, to take poſſeſſion of Saxony. The king of Pruſſia, who had projected the invaſion of that kingdom, and who hoped to be able to reduce it to obedience before the empreſs-queen could aſſemble her troops, or any of the other confederates be in a condition to attack him, therefore reſolved to occupy his electorate; a meaſure in which he thought himſelf juſtified, as he knew that the elector had concurred in all the ſchemes formed by the courts of Vienna and Peterſburg for the ruin of the houſe of Brandenburg, and waited only for an opportunity to co-operate alſo in the execution of them. Aug. 29. He accordingly entered Saxony with a great army, conſiſting of ſeventy battalions and eighty ſquadrons, divided into three bodies, which purſued different routes, and aſſembled, by concert, in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. Sept. 6.

Unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a force, Auguſtus abandoned his capital, which was immediately occupied by the Pruſſians, and joined his little army of fourteen thouſand men, encamped at Pirna. Sept. 18. That camp, which was deemed impregnable, he had not choſen merely on account of its ſtrength, but alſo becauſe he thought its poſition ſecured him a communication with Bohemia, whence only he could expect ſuccour, and whither he might retire in caſe of neceſſity. Relying on theſe advantages, on the attachment of his ſubjects, and his intimate connexions with the court of Vienna, he ſcornfully rejected the reaſonable requiſition of the king of Pruſſia, That, as a proof of the ſincerity of his ſuſpicious profeſſions of neutrality, he ſhould withdraw his

army from the ſtrong poſt which it occupied, and order the troops to return to their former quarters, in different parts of the electorate.

This refuſal induced the king of Pruſſia to change his plan of operations. As he had no magazines in Bohemia, he did not think it ſafe to penetrate into that kingdom, and leave the Saxons maſters of the Elbe behind him. He therefore reſolved to ſurround their camp; and, as he could not hope to force it, to oblige them to ſurrender, by cutting off their ſupplies, before he proceeded farther. With this view, he encamped at Groſs Zedlitz, in the neighbourhood of Pirna, and ſoon reduced the Saxon army to the greateſt diſtreſs. Meanwhile he ſent two large detachments, one under mareſchal Keith, the other under mareſchal Schwerin, to the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to keep the Auſtrians in awe, and deprive them of the power of making any vigorous effort for the relief of the Saxons, by obliging them to divide their forces. Keith took poſt at Johnſdorff, and Schwerin at Aujeſt, oppoſite Konigſgratz.

That was a cautious rather than a great line of conduct. Had the king of Pruſſia marched into Bohemia with the main body of his army, the moment he found the king of Poland reject his propoſitions of neutrality, leaving twenty thouſand men to block up the Saxon camp at Pirna, he might have made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, before the Auſtrians could have been in a condition to oppoſe him. Olmutz, and even Prague, muſt ſoon have fallen into his hands, both being yet unprovided againſt a ſiege [13]; whereas,

13. *Hiſt. of the late War in Germany*, by major-general Lloyd, who ſerved ſeveral campaigns in the Auſtrian army, and afterward in that of prince Ferdinand. "The conqueſt of theſe two places," adds this intelligent author, "would have enabled his Pruſſian majeſty to begin the next campaign in "Moravia, at leaſt, and perhaps on the Danube, with the ſiege or blockade "of Vienna; whence he might, without any riſk, have ſent a conſiderable "corps to the frontiers of Hungary, and the army deſtined to guard Saxony "into the empire, between the ſources of the Maine and the Upper Danube. "The firſt would have hindered the empreſs-queen from receiving any ſuc-"cours

as, by the plan that he purſued, the empreſs-queen had leiſure to aſſemble two conſiderable armies in Bohemia, and to put its principal towns in a ſtate of defence. The ſmalleſt of theſe armies, commanded by prince Piccolomini, took poſt at Konigſgratz, in order to oppoſe Schwerin; the largeſt under mareſchal Brown, encamped at Kolin, and was deſtined to march to the relief of the Saxon army, as ſoon as the neceſſary preparations could be made for that purpoſe.

Theſe preparations being completed, mareſchal Brown quitted his camp at Kolin, and advanced to Budyn on the Egra, in order to concert meaſures with the Saxons for accompliſhing their enlargement. Now ſeemingly ſenſible of his miſtake, in not having entered Bohemia, the politic and enterpriſing Frederick, having left a body of troops to continue the blockade of Pirna, joined the diviſion of his army under Keith, and reſolved to give battle to the Auſtrian army under Brown. Such an opportunity he ſoon found. Sept. 23.

The Auſtrians having paſſed the Egra, and encamped at Lowoſitz, his Pruſſian majeſty thought it neceſſary to paſs the mountains of Baſcopol and Kletchen; to put the defiles behind him, and occupy the avenues leading to the plain before mareſchal Brown's camp, that he might without difficulty attack him, if he ſhould judge it convenient. He accordingly left Tirmitz, to which he had advanced from Johnſdorff, and arrived at Welmina about eight o'clock in the evening. Sept. 30. Fearing the enemy might decamp in the night, and occupy the mountains of Radoſtitz and Loboſch; and, by that movement, not only render it impoſſible for him to attack them, but even oblige him to fall back to Auſig, he reſumed his march, and occupied the mountains, of which he was apprehenſive the Auſtrians would take poſſeſſion. Oct. 1.

" cours from theſe countries, and the laſt would have effectually prevented " thoſe princes, who were the king of Pruſſia's enemies, from uniting againſt " him." Ibid.

By

By break of day the Pruſſian army, conſiſting of ſixty-five ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions, with one hundred and two pieces of cannon, was formed in order of battle; the infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in three, behind. The right wing of the infantry was poſted in the village of Radoſtitz, at the foot of the hill of the ſame name. Before that hill riſes another, called the Homolkaberg; which although much lower than the former, is yet ſo high as to command all the plain below, as far as the village of Sulowitz. To this hill the king of Pruſſia afterward extended his right wing, and placed a battery of heavy cannon upon it. His centre occupied the valley formed by the Homolkaberg and the Loboſchberg; and on the latter his left wing was poſted.

The Loboſchberg is a remarkably high and ſteep mountain, and extends into the plain almoſt to Lowoſitz. That ſide of it is covered with vineyards, which are ſeparated by ſtone walls. In theſe mareſchal Brown had poſted a large body of Croats, who were ſuſtained by ſeveral battalions of Hungarian infantry. Parallel to thoſe mountains, and at ſome hundred yards diſtance from the foot of them, runs a marſhy rivulet; which in many places ſpreads itſelf in the plain, and forms a kind of lake. Between this rivulet and the hills, on which the Pruſſian army was formed, ſtrikes a very deep ravin, or ſewer, hollowed by land floods, from Sulowitz to Lowoſitz. The only paſſes over that ravin and rivulet are at theſe two villages, and by a narrow ſtone bridge between them. The ground behind the rivulet riſes a little, eſpecially toward Sulowitz; and on this riſing ground the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of ſeventy-two ſquadrons and fifty-two battalions, with ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was poſted. It was formed in two lines; the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, as uſual, on the wings. A little before the commencement of the action, however, the cavalry on the right wing marched forward, and occupied the plain to the left of the village of Lowoſitz. That village mareſ-

 chal

chal Brown had ordered to be fortified, and had placed ſome of his beſt infantry in it, with a great quantity of artillery. He had likewiſe raiſed a ſtrong battery, and ſome redoubts on the plain before it. By theſe means he thought he had rendered his right inacceſſible, as his centre and left, covered by the marſhy rivulet and the ravin already mentioned, certainly were. He therefore reſolved to wait battle in that poſition.

The action began about ſeven in the morning, between the left wing of the Pruſſians and the troops which mareſchal Brown had poſted in the Loboſchberg. But in conſequence of a thick fog, through which nothing could be ſeen at the diſtance of an hundred yards, no conſiderable advantage was gained, on either ſide, till near noon, when the fog began to clear up. It was ſoon entirely diſſipated; and the hoſtile armies ſtood full in view of each other, agitated with anxious hopes and fears. The king of Pruſſia, having examined the Auſtrian army for ſome time, judged its right to be the weakeſt, for many reaſons, but chiefly becauſe it was commanded from the Loboſchberg. He therefore ordered his ſecond line to enter into the firſt, with the cavalry in the centre, that he might occupy the Homolkaberg and Loboſchberg in force. This being readily executed, the whole army was put in motion, inclining always to the left, whence the projected attack was to be made; and the left wing being reinforced, and protected by the fire of a numerous and well-ſerved artillery, marched down the Loboſchberg toward Lowoſitz, and drove the Croats out of the vineyards into the plain.

Mareſchal Brown believing that the fortune of the day depended on his being able to keep poſſeſſion of Lowoſitz, threw almoſt his whole right wing into it. The action, therefore, was here long and obſtinate. At length, however, it was determined in favour of the Pruſſians. Seeing his right wing forced to give way, the Auſtrian general ordered his left to advance through the village of Sulowitz, and at-

tack

tack the enemy's right. This it endeavoured to execute, but in vain. A ſmall number only of the infantry could paſs the village; and theſe, galled by the heavy fire of a powerful artillery, being unable to form on the other ſide, fell back in confuſion. Brown was now under the neceſſity of attempting a retreat; which he conducted in a manner ſo maſterly, that no effort was made to annoy him.

The Auſtrians, however, though thus compelled to quit the field, were not totally defeated. Mareſchal Brown took a new poſition, a little farther back; the ſtrength of which obliged the victorious Frederick to remain ſatisfied with the advantage he had gained, and to keep his line behind Lowoſitz. But while the enemy continued in that poſition, his Pruſſian majeſty had by no means effected his deſign. As the victory was incomplete, it was ſtill poſſible for the Auſtrian general to attempt the relief of the Saxons. He was now, indeed, as much in a condition to undertake it as before the action, his loſs being incomparably inferior to that of the Pruſſians.

From this very embarraſſing ſituation the ſuperior talents of the king of Pruſſia happily extricated him. He ſent the prince of Bevern with a large body of horſe and foot to Tiſchiſkovitz, as if he had propoſed to turn the enemy's left flank, and to hem them in between the Elbe and the Egra. That manœuvre had the deſired effect. Afraid of the conſequence naturally to be expected from ſuch a motion, mareſchal Brown haſtened to repaſs the Egra, and occupied his old camp at Budyn [14].

Oct. 10.

Thus ended the battle of Lowoſitz, which began, as already obſerved, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon. The loſs on each ſide was nearly equal, amounting in all to about ſix thouſand killed and wounded. Both parties claimed the victory; but if we judge by effects, the only means of ſettling ſuch doubtful

14. Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

questions, the Prussians have an undoubted right to the honour of the day. The Austrians certainly intended to disengage the Saxons, and with that view advanced to Lowositz. The king of Prussia could have no other object immediately in view, but to prevent their executing this design. He accomplished his aim by the battle of Lowositz, and the subsequent movement, which made the Austrians retire behind the Egra. Had the Prussians gained a more complete victory, or the king pursued a bolder line of conduct, they would have been enabled to take up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Having failed in this attempt to relieve the Saxons on the left of the Elbe, mareschal Brown resolved to try his fortune on the right. He accordingly passed that river, and advanced to Lichtenhayen. The Saxons also passed the Elbe, near the village of Ebenhert, at the foot of the mountain of Lilienstein, where they found themselves encompassed by inextricable difficulties. The Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles before them; the bridge over the Elbe was broken down behind them; and the Austrian general gave them notice that he could not march to their assistance. They had no choice left, but to perish or surrender prisoners of war. They embraced the latter alternative; and their electoral prince, Augustus III. king of Poland, who had taken refuge in the castle of Konigstein, was forced to abandon his hereditary dominions, and retire into that kingdom.

The king of Prussia having thus completed one part of his military plan, commanded his army to quit Bohemia, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony. Now it was that the victorious monarch, in order to justify his rigour toward the unhappy Saxons, on whom he levied heavy contributions, at the same time that he seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden; and even ordered the secret cabinet, in which the papers relative to foreign transactions were kept, to be violently broke open, although the queen of Poland placed herself against the door.

This violence has been generally reprobated, but very unjustly

justly. Though perfectly acquainted with the laws of politeness, and sufficiently disposed to observe them, his Prussian majesty did not allow them to interfere with the rigid maxims and more important laws of policy. He rightly considered, that the passionate obstinacy of the queen of Poland, in personally opposing the command of the conqueror, deprived her of all the respect that was due to her sacred person; as a princess of her years and experience could not fail to know, that his desire of possessing the papers in question must increase in proportion to her zeal to protect them.

A. D. 1757. She drew the insult upon herself; and admitting her death, which happened soon after, to have been the consequence of such insult, the king of Prussia was not chargeable with it. Her part was submission.

In the papers seized, the learned and enlightened Frederick, whose sensibility of heart perhaps has not always equalled his liberality of mind, found abundant proofs of the conspiracy formed against him by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and of the share which the court of Dresden had taken in that conspiracy. From these papers, which the king of Prussia published in his own vindication, it appeared, That although the king of Poland did not chuse to insert *at first*, in his accession to the confederacy, the words *reciprocal engagement* of *assisting one another* with *all their forces*, that he was willing, nevertheless, to *come to an understanding*, for the partition of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, by *private and confidential declarations*, and *just conditions and advantages*[15]; that it was resolved, in the grand council of Moscow, to *attack the king of Prussia, without any ulterior discussion*, not only *in case of his attacking any of the allies of Russia*, but also *if he should be attacked by any of the allies of the Czarina*[16]; that it had been concerted between the two

15. *Letter* from the count de Bruhl, the Saxon Minister, to count Fleming, the imperial minister, dated Dresden, March 8, 1753.

16. *Letter* from the Sieur Funck, the Russian minister, to the count de Bruhl, dated Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1755.

imperial

imperial courts of Peterſburg and Vienna, that the latter, *the better to maſk the true reaſons of arming*, ſhould do it *under the pretext of keeping herſelf in a condition to fulfil her engagements with England*, in caſe of need; and when *all the preparations were finiſhed*, then to *fall ſuddenly upon the king of Pruſſia*[17].

Though the king of Pruſſia was not ſo ſucceſsful as might have been expected, conſidering his ſuperior military talents, the number and diſcipline of his troops, and the unprepared ſtate of his enemies, who did not propoſe to begin their operations till the next campaign[18], the progreſs of his arms gave great joy to the Britiſh court, while it filled the nation with ſhame and confuſion by turning their eyes on their own diſaſters; on the ſuppoſed miſconduct of the miniſtry, the loſſes in America, and the miſcarriage of the unhappy Byng, whom the voice of the people had already devoted to deſtruction for his puſillanimity. Willing to remove as far as poſſible, all grounds of diſſatisfaction, his Britannic majeſty changed his miniſters; and, in a noble ſpeech from the throne, expreſſed his confidence, That, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to ſurmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown againſt the ancient enemy of England.

At the head of the new adminiſtration was placed William Pitt, the moſt popular man in the kingdom, who accepted the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, in the room of Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, was made chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonſhire ſucceeded the duke of Newcaſtle, at the head of the treaſury.

The firſt meaſures of the patriotic miniſter do equal ho-

17. *Letter* from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, June 9, 1756.

18. *Letter* from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, July 28, 1756.

nour

nour to his head and heart. He procured an order for sending home the foreign troops: he encouraged the framing of a bill, which immediately passed into a law, for establishing a national militia, upon the footing on which it now stands, as our only constitutional defence, and he complied with the wishes of the people, in bringing on the trial of admiral Byng, and promoting an enquiry into the conduct of the former ministry.

Byng was accordingly tried, by a court-martial, on board the St. George, in Portsmouth harbour, and sentenced to be shot; he having, in the opinion of his judges, fallen under that part of the twelfth article of war, which prescribes death to any commander "who shall not, during "the time of action, do his *utmost*, from whatever motive "or cause, negligence, cowardice, or disaffection, to *distress* "the *enemy*." And they were farther unanimously of opinion, That beside failing in his duty, by keeping back, during the engagement between the English and French fleets, and consequently not using his utmost endeavour "to take, "seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, that he "did not *exert* his *utmost power* for the *relief* of *St. Philip's* "*castle*." But they recommended him to mercy, as the article of war on which they decided made no allowance for an error in judgment. His majesty laid the sentence before the Twelve Judges, who confirmed it.

Jan. 28.

Meanwhile a violent clamour, on account of this judgment, was raised by admiral Byng's friends, who severely arraigned the proceedings against him, and ascribed his miscarriage solely to the ignorance and improvidence of the late corrupt administration. The people, though enraged at Byng, for his dastardly behaviour, joined in the cry against the discarded ministers. And addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, requesting that a strict inquiry might be made into their conduct, from the time they received the first intelligence of the purpose of the French to invade Minorca, to that of the action in the Mediterranean,

between

between the admirals Byng and Galiſſoniere. Such an inquiry was accordingly inſtituted in the houſe of commons, and openly conducted by a committee of the whole houſe, who were furniſhed from the public offices with all the papers that could throw light upon the ſubject; and, after the cloſeſt inveſtigation, they came to ſeveral reſolutions highly favourable to the execrated adminiſtration, inſtead of making any diſcovery to their diſadvantage. Feb. 17.

The firſt and laſt of theſe reſolutions deſerve particular notice. By the former, the committee declared it appeared to them, "That his majeſty, from the 27th day of Auguſt, in "the year 1755, to the 20th day of April, in the following "year, received ſuch repeated and concurrent intelligence, "as gave juſt reaſon to believe that the French king intended "to invade Great Britain or Ireland." And in the latter, they gave it as their opinion, "That no greater number of ſhips "of war could be ſent into the Mediterranean than were "actually ſent thither under the command of admiral Byng; "nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which "was ſent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which "was ordered, from Gibraltar, to the relief of Fort St. "Philip, conſiſtently with the ſtate of the navy, and the "various ſervices eſſential to the ſafety of his majeſty's do"minions, and the intereſts of his ſubjects."

Though thus foiled in their attempt to criminate the miniſtry, the friends of admiral Byng did not yet abandon him to his fate. Another effort was made to ſave him. A member of the court-martial that had condemned him, and who was alſo a member of parliament, made application to the houſe of commons in behalf of himſelf and ſeveral other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legiſlature to be releaſed from the oath of ſecrecy impoſed upon courts martial, that they might make known the grounds on which ſentence of death had paſſed upon admiral Byng, and diſcloſe ſuch

circumſtances as might perhaps ſhew the ſentence to be improper.

Little attention was paid by the commons to this application, till the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, by ſecretary Pitt, informing them, That although he was determined to let the law take its courſe, with relation to admiral Byng, unleſs it ſhould appear, from new evidence, that he had been unjuſtly condemned, his majeſty had thought fit to reſpite the execution of the ſentence of the court-martial, that the ſcruples of ſome members might by fully explained and weighed. In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was immediately brought in, and paſſed the houſe of commons, for releaſing the members of the court-martial from their obligation of ſecrecy. But it was rejected almoſt unanimouſly by the lords, after they had examined ſuch members of that court as were members of the houſe of commons; ſufficient reaſon not appearing to them for obſtructing the courſe of juſtice, by giving way to ſuch unmeaning, or pretended ſcruples, in ſupport of which no forcible arguments were produced, nor any latent circumſtance, in favour of the perſon whom they regarded, brought to light.

Feb. 26.

Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, admiral Byng collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which had been better exerted, in the day of battle. He was ſhot, according to his ſentence, on board of ſhip, and behaved to the laſt with compoſure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the mareſchal of the admiralty, in which he lays claim to *a faithful diſcharge* of *his duty*, according to *the beſt* of *his judgment*. And perhaps he was ſincere; but men, under ſuch circumſtances, are very apt to be partial to themſelves. "Perſuaded I am," adds he, (after congratulating himſelf that a few moments would deliver him from the virulent perſecution of his enemies) "that juſtice will be done to "my reputation hereafter. The manner, and cauſe, of "raiſing

March 14.

" raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice " againſt me will be ſeen through. I ſhall be conſidered as " a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of " an injured and deluded people from the proper objects."

No! my dear Philip: let us rather conſider his blood as a libation due to the offended Genius of England, and indiſpenſably neceſſary to waſh out the ſtain which had been thrown upon her naval glory. An admiral who had acted as Byng did, on ſuch an occaſion, and with ſuch a force, ſetting aſide all temporary circumſtances, could only atone for his miſconduct with the ſacrifice of his life, as an awful warning to future commanders [19].

While the Engliſh miniſtry, in compliance with the wiſh of the people, were thus bringing to puniſhment a commander in chief, whom they conſidered as the cauſe of their greateſt diſgrace, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire, (for which they have been unjuſtly ridiculed, and repreſented as barbarians, by their more giddy and volatile neighbours) the French were enjoying the tortures of a

19. Even Dr. Smollett, his warm advocate, after ſaying, "he was raſhly " condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly ſacrificed to vile conſiderations," has the candour to admit, That " the character of admiral Byng, in point of " *perſonal courage*, will *with many people* remain *problematical:* they will ſtill be of " opinion, that if the *ſpirit* of a *Britiſh admiral* had been *properly exerted*, the " French fleet would have been *defeated*, and Minorca *ſaved*. A man's opinion " of danger," continues he, " varies at different times, in conſequence of an " irregular tide of animal ſpirits: he is often *actuated* by *conſiderations* which " he *dares* not *avow*. And after *an officer, thus influenced*, has *heſitated* or *kept* " *aloof* in the *hour of trial*, the mind, *eager* for its own JUSTIFICATION, *aſſembles*, " with ſurpriſing induſtry, *every favourable circumſtance of excuſe*, and *broods* " over them with *parental partiality*; until it becomes not only *ſatisfied* but " *enamoured of* their *beauty* and *complexion*, like a doting mother, *blind* to the " *deformity* of her *own offſpring*." (*Continuat. Hiſt. England.* vol. i.) Theſe ingenious reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the diſcernment of Smollett, and diſtinguiſh his character as an hiſtorian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but ſelf-deluding perſonal attachments, and his violent reſentments are forgot.

maniac, who had attempted to kill their king. On this fanatical wretch, named Francis Damien, whoſe gloomy mind had always bordered upon madneſs, and whoſe underſtanding was now evidently diſordered by the diſputes between the king and the parliaments relative to religion (which I ſhall afterward have occaſion to explain), was practiſed, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could ſuggeſt, in order to extort a confeſſion of the reaſons that induced him to make an attempt on the life of his ſovereign [20]. He maintained a ſullen ſilence in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite torments, or expreſſed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, tired out with his obſtinacy, at laſt thought proper to terminate his ſufferings by a death ſhocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themſelves in civility and refinement, might fill the heart of ſavages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of the populace; ſtripped naked, and faſtened to the ſcaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming ſulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted lead, roſin, and ſulphur, were poured into the wounds; and to complete the awful cataſtrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horſes [21].

The attempt againſt the king's life had no influence upon the French councils, as it was ſoon diſcovered that his wound was not mortal. The court of Verſailles therefore, in conformity with its engagements and its views, aſſembled a great army; the main body of which, conſiſting of eighty thouſand men, commanded by mareſchal d'Etrees, and other officers of high reputation, paſſed the Rhine early in the ſpring, and marched by the way of Weſtphalia, in order to invade the

20. He ſtabbed the king with a penknife, between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was ſtepping into his coach.

21. Smollett. Voltaire. *Trial and execution of R. F. Damien.*

territories of the king of Pruſſia, as was pretended, but in reality to reduce the electorate of Hanover; and by that bold meaſure to oblige the king of Great Britain to ſubmit to the encroachments of the French in America, or to the loſs of what he valued as the apple of his eye or the cords of his heart, his German dominions. The ſmaller diviſion, compoſed of twenty-five thouſand men, under the prince de Soubiſe, was deſtined to march toward the Maine, to ſtrengthen the Imperial Army of Execution.—Some explication will here be neceſſary, in order to make the nature of this army perfectly underſtood.

No ſooner did the king of Pruſſia enter Saxony, the preceding campaign, than a proceſs was commenced againſt him in the Aulic council, and alſo before the diet of the empire. By the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the powerful confederacy it had formed, he was condemned for contumacy; and the fiſcal had orders to notify to him, That he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and poſſeſſions which he held in it. The circles of the empire were accordingly commanded to furniſh their contingents of men and money, in order to put this ſentence in execution. But the contingents were collected ſlowly; the troops were badly compoſed; and probably the army of the Empire would never have been able to act, had it not been ſeconded by the French forces under the prince de Soubiſe. This general, before he paſſed the Rhine, made himſelf maſter of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres; whilſt a detachment, from the army of mareſchal d'Etrees, ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to his Pruſſian majeſty in Eaſt Frieſland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George II. ſeemed diſpoſed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel, and even to ſend over a body of Britiſh troops for the protection of Hanover. In theſe views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge, his new miniſters; who, adhering to the patriotic principles in which they had been

bred, and in the diffusing of which they had grown up to popularity, and raised themselves to power, considered Hanover as a useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation.

The popular ministers were deprived of their employments, for daring to oppose the will of their sovereign in council. And although it was too late to adopt new measures for the campaign with any probability of success, the duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of *observation*, as it was called, intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of forty thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Prussians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of mareschal d'Etrees. The duke of Cumberland, after some unsuccessful skirmishes, was obliged to retire behind the Weser; and the French passed that river without opposition.

April 5.

If the duke of Cumberland's situation now seemed desperate, that of the king of Prussia, after making every allowance for his own superior talents, and the valour and discipline of his troops, did not wear a more favourable aspect at the opening of the campaign. An army of one hundred and thirty thousand Russians was on the borders of Lithuania, and in full march to invade the kingdom of Prussia. The Swedes were ready to enter Pomerania, in hopes of recovering their former possessions in that country. The empress queen, having made vast preparations during the winter, had augmented her army to one hundred and eighty-thousand men[22]; yet did she resolve to act only on the defensive, until her allies could take the field. Then she flattered herself the king of Prussia would be obliged to divide his forces into so many bodies, that he would be unable, any where, to make a vigorous resistance.

22. Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

Conformable

Conformable to this defensive system, the Austrian army was broken into four divisions; the first of which, commanded by the duke d'Aremberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under mareschal Brown, at Budyn; the third, under count Konigseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under mareschal Daun, in Moravia. By these dispositions, mareschal Brown, who commanded in chief, thought he could effectually cover Bohemia, which was understood to be the first object of the enemy, and stop their progress, should they attempt to advance.

The king of Prussia however, having resolved to penetrate into that kingdom, was not diverted from his purpose by this formidable force, or the strong positions it had taken. He therefore ordered his army, in like manner with the Austrians, to assemble in four divisions: one under prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau, at Chemnitz; another, under himself and mareschal Keith, at Lockwitz; the third, under the prince of Bevern, at Zittaw; and the fourth under mareschal Schwerin, in Silesia. As each of these divisions was strong, he thought he might safely order them to enter Bohemia separately; but with instructions to unite as soon after as possible, for mutual support, and to form an entire junction in the neighbourhood of Prague.

The Prussian plan of operations being thus concerted, prince Maurice quitted his station at Chemnitz in the beginning of April, and marched by Zwickaw and Plawen, toward Egra; as if he intended to attack the place, or at least to penetrate that way into Bohemia. And in order to confirm d'Aremberg in this opinion, he commanded his light troops to make a feint upon the duke's quarters at Wildstein. The Austrian general, taking the alarm, threw himself into Egra; while prince Maurice returned to Averback, and marched with great celerity, by Brix and Billin, to Linay, where he joined the king of Prussia.

Not thinking it practicable to force the camp at Budyn, which was very strong, his Prussian majesty passed the river

Egra higher up, near Kofchtitz. Here his light troops and van-guard met thofe of the duke d'Aremberg, who was on his march to join marefchal Brown. On feeing the Pruffians, however, they fell back upon Welwarn; and marefchal Brown finding the enemy had paffed the Egra, and were encamped on his left flank, judged it neceffary to quit his pofition at Budyn, and retire to Prague [23]. Thither he was followed by the king of Pruffia; who encamped on the Weiffenberg, to the left of the Moldaw, which the main body of the Auftrians, now commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, had quitted, and removed to the other fide of that river.

While thefe things were paffing on the fide of Saxony, where his Pruffian majefty had fpent the winter, and whence he ftill drew fupplies, the prince of Bevern having put his divifion in motion, marched from Zittaw to Reichenberg. April 21. He there found count Konigfeg, with a body of twenty thoufand men, encamped in a valley formed by two very high mountains. Through the middle of that valley runs the river Neifs, into which fall many torrents from the neighbouring mountains. The fides of thofe mountains are covered with thick woods, which are almoft impaffable. The Auftrian general, therefore, occupied only the valley between, extending his wings no farther than the foot of the mountains.

The prince of Bevern, who, by purfuing this route, had put himfelf under the neceffity of fighting, in order to join marefchal Schwerin, had now no choice left but the mode of giving battle. Taking advantage of the difpofition of the enemy (after an unfuccefsful attack upon their cavalry in the centre, which were ftrongly fupported by their infantry and artillery on the two wings), he fent feveral battalions as high as poffible into the mountain on his right, in order to come on the flank and rear of the Auftrians pofted in the

23. Id. ibid.

wood

wood at the foot of that mountain. His commands were punctually executed, and attended with full effect. The Austrians abandoned the wood: the prince renewed his attack upon their cavalry; which, unable to sustain the fire of the Prussian infantry, were forced to give way. On this advantage, he ordered his whole right wing to occupy the ground the Austrian cavalry had quitted, and obliged count Konigseg to retire toward Liebenaw, with the loss of a thousand men.

The prince of Bevern marched to that place, but found the Austrians so advantageously posted, that he did not think it prudent to attack them; more especially as he knew the advance of the army under mareschal Schwerin would suddenly force them to retire. It so happened. Having received intelligence of Schwerin's approach, Konigseg quitted his camp next day, and marched with precipitation to Prague. April 23.

Meanwhile Schwerin, informed of the action at Reichenberg, and the retreat of the Austrians, wisely changed his route. He marched on the Iser, hoping still to be able to cut off Konigseg, before he could reach Prague. And although he failed in that attempt, he was so fortunate as to seize an immense magazine, which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlaw [24]. Being afterward joined by the prince of Bevern's division, he proceeded to Brandeiss, where he continued till the fourth of May. He then passed the Elbe, and encamped on the other side; in order to concert measures with the king, before he advanced farther.

His Prussian majesty, who had thrown a bridge over the Moldaw, near Podbaba, passed that river with part of his army in the night, leaving the remainder under mareschal Keith, on the Weissenberg. Next morning, at break of day, he formed a junction with Schwerin; and having reconnoitred the enemy, from one of the high- May 6.

24. Lloyd, ubi sup.

eſt hills on the other ſide of Broſiz, he reſolved to give them battle.

The Auſtrians, amounting to about eighty thouſand men, were encamped with their left wing toward Prague, on the Ziſkaberg, and their right extending beyond the village of Conraditz, on a hill near Sterbohli. The mountains before the Auſtrian camp were ſo ſteep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could poſſibly aſcend them, and the deep valley at their foot was wholly occupied by huſſars and Hungarian infantry. Yet was the king of Pruſſia, regardleſs of theſe difficulties, inclined to attack the enemy in front. But through the perſuaſion of mareſchal Schwerin, he changed his opinion, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right; where the ground falls gradually, and where the infantry could paſs over certain meadows, and the cavalry and heavy artillery over dams [25].

The action began about eleven o'clock; when the Pruſſian cavalry having paſſed the dams, the Auſtrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank, and ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. It came with great celerity, and formed itſelf with that on the right in one hundred and four ſquadrons, in three lines, with intervals equal to the front of a ſquadron. This movement was made with ſo much promptitude, that the prince of Schonaich, the Pruſſian lieutenant-general of horſe, who had only ſixty-five ſquadrons, afraid of being outflanked, judged it neceſſary to attack the enemy inſtantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The attack was accordingly made with vigour; but the Pruſſian cavalry being outflanked by eight ſquadrons, was twice repulſed, in ſpite of its moſt ſtrenuous efforts. In the third attack, however, the Auſtrian cavalry was entirely broken, by the bravery of twenty ſquadrons of

25. *Letter* from count Schwerin, general-adjutant to the mareſchal of that name, who was preſent at the conſultations.

huſſars, led by general Ziethen, and puſhed with ſuch violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confuſion.

During this ſhock of the cavalry, the Pruſſian grenadiers of the left of wing having paſſed the meadows, were obliged to advance through a very narrow road, in order to join the reſt of the line, which was already formed. As ſoon as the grenadiers apprared on the other ſide of the defile, they were ſaluted by a battery of twelve pounders, charged with cartridges, and forced to retire in the greateſt diſorder. They were followed by two whole regiments; and the ſecond battalion of Schwerin's began to give way, when the mareſchal himſelf, who had beed continually on the other ſide of the defile, took the colours of his regiment in his own hand; and having collected the broken troops, advanced with a ſtrong pace toward the enemy, exhorting the ſoldiers to follow him. He received a bullet in his breaſt, and inſtantly fell from his horſe, without the leaſt ſigns of life[26]. But his death did not paſs unrevenged.

The king of Pruſſia, obſerving that the Auſtrian right wing, in the ardour of purſuit, had advanced ſo far as to leave an opening between it and the left, laid hold of this favourable opportunity to occupy that vacant ſpace. And while he thus ſeparated the enemy's two wings from each other, he at the ſame time, by an additional ſtroke of generalſhip, ordered a body of troops to poſſeſs the ground where his own left had ſtood: ſo that when the Auſtrian right wing was forced back by the bravery of mareſchal Schwerin, and the gallant officers who ſucceeded him in the command, that victorious body found itſelf ſurrounded, and fled in confuſion toward Maleſchitz; while the left wing, furiouſly attacked by the Pruſſian infantry, under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The centre alſo was broken, after an obſtinate diſpute, and chaſed into the ſame city[27].

26. Ibid. 27. Lloyd, vol. i.

Such

Such was the famous battle of Prague, in which the valour and military ſkill of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians were fully tried, and which proved fatal to two of the greateſt generals in Europe. For mareſchal Brown received a wound, which his chagrin rendered mortal; though his pride is ſuppoſed to have been more hurt by being obliged to command under the prince of Lorrain, than from the event of the day. The loſs on both ſides was very conſiderable. The Pruſſians, by their own account, had three thouſand men killed, and more than double that number wounded, beſide three hundred and ninety-ſeven officers, many of whom were of high rank. The loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed, wounded, and taken, cannot be computed at leſs than twelve thouſand, although they acknowledge little more than half that number.

But theſe were all the immediate conſequences of the king of Pruſſia's victory. The main body of the Auſtrian army, to the number of fifty thouſand men, found ſhelter in Prague, under prince Charles of Lorrain; and about ſixteen thouſand, chiefly cavalry, aſſembled at Beneſchau the day after the battle, and immediately joined mareſchal Daun, who had arrived the evening before, from Moravia, and encamped at Bohmiſch Brodt, on hearing of the diſaſter of the Auſtrians. The intrepid Frederick, however, elated with his good fortune, and thinking that every thing muſt ſubmit to his victorious arms, inveſted Prague, with an army little ſuperior to that confined within the walls!

It was certainly very extraordinary, that ſo great a general as the king of Pruſſia ſhould think it poſſible to reduce an army of fifty thouſand men, in ſo extenſive a town as Prague, with one of equal force. Hence the memorable ſaying of the celebrated mareſchal de Belleiſle, who had defended the ſame place, as we have ſeen, in 1742, with fifteen thouſand men againſt the whole power of the houſe of Auſtria, and retired with honour and glory, when he found his proviſions fail: "I know Prague; and if I were there with one half

"of

"of the troops under the Prince of Lorrain, I would destroy "the Prussian army [28]."

But the supineness of the Austrians in some measure justified the king of Prussia's temerity. They suffered themselves to be shut up in Prague for six weeks, without making one vigorous effort for their enlargement; although the Prussian army, beside forming a chain of posts extending many miles, was separated by the river Moldaw into two parts, any one of which might have been cut off. Fifty thousand men, provided with arms and artillery, submitted to this inglorious restraint, and continued inactive till they began to feel the pressure of famine; and the prince of Lorrain seemed, at one time, disposed to capitulate. When mareschal Brown, then sick in bed, was consulted on that subject, he made the following spirited reply: "Tell prince Charles, my advice "is, That he instantly march out, and attack mareschal "Keith [29]!"

The prince of Lorrain, however, did not chuse to carry matters to that extremity, so long as any hope of relief remained; and the king of Prussia, by a new and more extraordinary instance of self-confidence than any he had yet exhibited, saved the Austrian army from the necessity of such a desperate effort, or the indelible disgrace of a surrender. While occupied in the siege of Prague, contemning the strength of the garrison, he had sent out several detachments, in order to raise contributions, and to seize or destroy the magazines which the Austrians had formed in different parts of Bohemia. Elated with the success of these detachments, and fearing that mareschal Daun, whose army now amounted to forty thousand men, might not only disturb his operations, but give prince Charles, by some manœuvre, an opportunity to get out of the place, he dispatched the prince of Bevern, with twenty-five thousand men, in order to drive him farther back.

28. Id. ibid.   29. Lloyd, ubi sup.

As the Pruſſians advanced, mareſchal Daun prudently retired, ſucceſſively to Kolin, Kuttenberg, and Haber. But no ſooner had he received all the reinforcements he expected, than he attempted to bring the prince of Bevern to action; and even, by rapid marches, to cut off his communication with the army before Prague. Informed of the enemy's motions, the king of Pruſſia quitted his camp, with ten battalions and twenty ſquadrons, and marched toward June 23. Kolin. There having formed a junction with the army under the prince of Bevern, he reſolved to attack mareſchal Daun, without farther delay.

On his approach, with this intention, the Pruſſian monarch found the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, drawn up in two lines; the infantry, contrary to the common diſpoſition, on the wings, and the cavalry in the centre. The right wing was poſted on a hill, extending toward Kuttenberg and Kolin; the left on another and higher hill, lying toward Zaſmuck. At the bottom of theſe two hills, and in the ſpace between, which was covered by a chain of fiſh-ponds and moraſſes, mareſchal Daun had extended two lines of horſe, and kept a third in reſerve; for as he knew that the Pruſſians were ſtronger in cavalry than infantry, the king having with him ninety ſquadrons, and only twenty-eight battalions, he ſuppoſed they would make their greateſt effort againſt the centre of the Auſtrian army, in order to cut it two. But no ſooner did he perceive the king's intention of attacking him on the right flank, than he ordered his body of reſerve to march to the right wing, in order to cover the flank. And he afterward directed his ſecond line to march alſo thither, cloſe up to the reſerve.

His Pruſſian majeſty ordered his army to halt, between nine and ten in the morning, in a plain near Slatiſlunz and June 18 Novimieſto, while he reconnoitred the enemy's poſition; and having reſolved to attack them, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of that poſition, and their ſuperiority in numbers, his army was again put in motion, and the

the battle soon after began[30]. At half an hour past one, the head of the Prussian columns, both of infantry and cavalry, appeared opposite the Austrian army, which was prepared to receive them. And about two o'clock the grand attack, conducted by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and supported by a powerful artillery, was pushed with resistless fury upon the Austrian right wing; which was at first thrown into disorder, but instantly recovered itself, and afterward behaved with equal firmness and gallantry. This conflict lasted about an hour and a half. Then the fire of the Prussian infantry began to slacken, and they were obliged to retire, in order to draw breath. They soon, however, renewed the combat; but were again compelled to yield to superior strength. Seven times did they return to the charge, from two till half past six o'clock. About that time, the last and most violent effort was made by the king in person, at the head of his cavalry. It was continued till after seven; when the Prussians, sinking under numbers and the disadvantage of ground, in which their cavalry could not properly act, were forced finally to relinquish the contest. But they remained on the field till nine, and retired without being pursued. The slaughter on both sides was great, and nearly equal. About twenty thousand men were left dead on the spot, or dying of mortal wounds.

In consequence of the loss of this memorable battle, one of the most obstinate and bloody of which there is any example in modern times, the king of Prussia was obliged immediately

30. For the particulars of the battle of Kolin, and most of the other great actions between the Austrians and Prussians, the author is indebted to the late major-general Lloyd, whose excellent, but unfinished *Campaigns*, must make his death sincerely lamented by all military men. Where this prime authority fails, recourse has been had to the accounts of the different actions published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, as well as to those transmitted to the court of Versailles by French officers in the Austrian service, which seem in general more accurate and impartial, and form a kind of standard for judging of the two former.

to

to raiſe the ſiege of Prague, and afterward to evacuate Bohemia.

General Lloyd's reflections on the ſiege of Prague, and the battle of Kolin, are too intereſting to be here omitted. The ſiege of Prague, with about fifty thouſand men in it, he obſerves, was an imprudent and dangerous meaſure, more eſpecially as the king of Pruſſia was then in circumſtances that required ſome deciſive ſtroke, and that as ſoon as poſſible; that Prague covers no eſſential paſs into the country, and contained no conſiderable magazine, neither was it neceſſary for the king to form one there, becauſe the country itſelf furniſhed abundantly all kind of ſubſiſtence; that if, inſtead of beſieging this town, his Pruſſian majeſty had ſent twenty thouſand men, the morning after his victory, in purſuit of the Auſtrian right wing, which had fled to Beneſchau, and marched with the main body of his army to Bohmiſch Brodt, againſt mareſchal Daun, it is more than probable he might have deſtroyed both; that they certainly could not have retired without loſing their artillery and baggage, and muſt have fallen back with the utmoſt expedition on the Danube; that prince Charles of Lorrain muſt likewiſe have marched to the Danube, in order to join the remainder of the Auſtrian army, as he could not, in his then ſituation, have undertaken any thing of himſelf: that this would have given the king of Pruſſia all the time neceſſary to reduce Olmutz, and even Prague itſelf, which muſt have been left to a common garriſon; but that, allured by the uncertain and vain, though flattering hope of making fifty thouſand men priſoners, he loſt ſight of Daun and the Auſtrian right wing, and with it an opportunity of giving ſome deciſive blow; that when, informed of the enemy's approach, he had ſtill time to repair the fault he had committed,—"he might, "and ought to have raiſed the ſiege of Prague, and have "marched with his whole forces againſt mareſchal Daun;" and if he had ſucceeded, it is highly probable that he might

alſo have routed prince Charles, before he could have reached the Danube [31].

In regard to the battle of Kolin itſelf, this ingenious author very judiciouſly remarks, that as his Pruſſian majeſty was in proportion much ſtronger in cavalry than infantry, he ought to have choſen the moſt convenient ground on the enemy's front for that ſpecies of troops; and that as he had given them an opportunity, by making his diſpoſitions in open day, to reinforce their right and its flank, whither they had brought two thirds of their army, he ought to have refuſed both his wings, and have made an effort with his cavalry, ſuſtained by his infantry and artillery, on the enemy's centre, where they had only cavalry, and therefore moſt probably would have been forced to give way: whereas by perſiſting to attack their right, he could bring only his infantry into action, the ground being very improper for cavalry, as well on account of the ravins and woods, as of the villages before the enemy's front; that having reſolved to attack the Auſtrian right wing, the king of Pruſſia ſhould have brought thither all his infantry, leaving only a line of horſe on his right, which would have been ſufficient, as the enemy's left could never quit its advantageous poſition, and deſcend into the plain; that this would have enabled him to ſuſtain properly his van-guard, which was left expoſed; to have taken the enemy in flank, and to have gained the battle [32]. In a word, it appears from theſe reflections, That the king of Pruſſia erred, in forming an attack where he could not conveniently combine the different ſpecies of arms, whereas the enemy had both infantry and cavalry, with a great artillery, to ſuſtain the points attacked; in letting his van-guard advance ſo far, that it could not be ſupported by the line; and in attacking with too little infantry, conſidering the nature of the ground. Hence the loſs of the battle.

Nor were the arms of his Pruſſian majeſty, or thoſe of his

31. Lloyd, vol. i.

32. Id. Ibid.

 allies,

allies, more fortunate in other quarters. No ſooner did the Ruſſians, who had hovered long on the frontiers, enter the kingdom of Pruſſia, than general Lewhald was ordered to oppoſe their progreſs. He accordingly aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men, in the month of June, and took poſt at Inſterburgh, in order to obſerve the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile general Fermor, with one diviſion of the Ruſſian army, aſſiſted by a fleet from Revel, carrying nine thouſand land forces, inveſted Memel; and, after a ſhort ſiege, made himſelf maſter of that important place, which was of infinite conſequence to the Ruſſians, as they could make it a military ſtation, and a magazine of proviſions and ſtores, that might be conſtantly ſupplied by means of their navy.

July 5.

This enterpriſe being ſucceſsfully executed, the whole Ruſſian army, conſiſting of ſixty-two thouſand foot, and nineteen thouſand horſe, with near twenty thouſand Tartars, Calmucks, and Coſſacks, united under mareſchal Apraxin, on the river Ruſs, and advanced toward the Pregel. General Lewhald, on the approach of the enemy, quitted his camp at Inſterburgh, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued until he received poſitive orders to hazard a battle. Having reconnoitred the poſition of the Ruſſians, who had paſſed the Pregel, and were encamped at Groſs Jagerſdorff, near Norkitten, he accordingly attacked them unexpectedly, at five o'clock in the morning, with great fury. Though thus in a manner ſurpriſed, they received the ſhock with a firmneſs that aſtoniſhed him; and after a warm and general action of three hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every poſſible exertion had been made, he was forced to retreat, with the loſs of two thouſand men[33].

Aug. 3.

Unacquainted with the valour and diſcipline of the Ruſſian infantry, ſince found to be the beſt in Europe, Lewhald

33. Pruſſian account of the battle. The Ruſſian account is imperfect and contradictory.

deprived

deprived himſelf of the power of making a vigorous or ſucceſsful effort in any one point, by extending his little army in a line oppoſed to that of the enemy; which he in vain endeavoured to break, as they had every where, through this miſtaken diſpoſition, a much greater number of men in action, than he could poſſibly preſent [34]. In vain did he attempt to cut their army in two, and take them in flank, by penetrating through certain openings. They received the Pruſſians on the point of the bayonet, and forced them to give way. He drew off his army, however, in good order, and re-occupied his former camp at Wehlaw.

While the Ruſſians, now victorious, were ravaging the king of Pruſſia's dominions on one ſide of Germany, the French were ſtripping him of his poſſeſſions on the other; and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution. After the duke of Cumberland paſſed the Weſer, he continued to retreat before mareſchal d'Etrees, until he reached the village of Haſtenbeck. Having choſen an advantageous poſt, he there attempted to make a ſtand, on the 25th of July; but being worſted, after a vigorous reſiſtance, he was obliged to quit his ſtation. Inſtead, however, of marching immediately after the action, as prudence ſeemed to dictate, toward Wolfenbuttle, Halberſtadt, and Magdeburg, where he might have formed a junction with the Pruſſian forces, his royal highneſs retired to Hoya, under pretence of covering Bremen and Verden; though, in reality, in order to keep up a communication with Stade, whither had been removed the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover.

In the mean time that electorate, abandoned to the enemy, was laid under contribution. And the duke de Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, having ſucceeded to the chief command of the French army, ſoon ſaw himſelf maſter of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade. There, en-

34. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 145.

camped between the Aller and the Elbe, it was ſuppoſed his royal highneſs would be able to maintain his ground till the cloſe of the campaign, as the ſeaſon was already far in the decline. But the enemy having taken effectual meaſures for cutting off his communication with the Elbe, he was under the neceſſity of ſigning the ſingular convention of Cloſter-ſeven; by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majeſty, was diſſolved and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being diſarmed [35], or conſidered as priſoners of war. The French were left, "till the *definitive reconciliation* of the two ſovereigns [36],"

Sept. 8.

in

35. The court of France afterward inſiſted on the *diſarming* of the *troops*, though the *convention* had *obſerved* a *profound ſilence* on *that head.* It only ſtipulated, That on the ceſſation of hoſtilities, the auxiliary troops ſhould be ſent home, and that ſuch part of the Hanoverian army as the duke of Cumberland could not place in the city of Stade, ſhould go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe, and not be recruited. (See the *Articles* of the *Convention* itſelf, and the *Vindication* of the *King of England's Conduct as the Elector of Hanover*, publiſhed by authority.) Notwithſtanding the notoriety of this fact, two cotemporary authors have affirmed, That in conſequence of the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, "thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians laid down their arms!" *Contin. Hiſt. Eng.* vol. ii. Annual Reg. 1758.

36. This indefinite mode of expreſſion gave riſe to one of the moſt intricate diſputes that ever employed the pens of political writers; and as ſelf-intereſt dictated the arguments on both ſides of the queſtion, much ingenuity and force of reaſoning were diſplayed. The French with great plauſibility maintained, that no other meaning could reaſonably be affixed to the words of the convention (which however they attempted to mend by certain Jeſuitical explications) than that which was natural and obvious: That the ſuſpenſion of arms was to continue, and they conſequently in poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, till a general pacification. *(Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England.)* The Engliſh miniſtry, on the other hand, affirmed, That the ſuſpenſion of arms was a mere military regulation, which was to continue in force only till the iſſue of a negociation, then depending, begun by his Britannic majeſty, in quality of elector of Hanover, and the ſuddenly expected declaration of the courts of Vienna and Verſailles relative to ſuch negociation; that this was the reaſon why it was not thought neceſſary to fix the time the ſuſpenſion of arms was to laſt. It was drawn up, they ſaid, by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it ſhould be of

force

in full possession of the countries they had conquered, though under the express condition of abstaining from future violences, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

Having thus subdued the German dominions of his Britannic majesty, the French were now at liberty to turn their whole forces against those of the king of Prussia. Mareschal Richelieu accordingly made his way into Halberstadt and the Old Marche of Brandenburgh; first exacting contributions, and then plundering the towns. The army of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, reinforced by that under the prince de Soubise, was on full march to enter Saxony. Twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by general Ungern Stornberg, had already entered Prussian Pomerania, under pretence of guarantying the treaty of Westphalia; and having taken the towns of Demmin and Anclam, and reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, they laid the whole country under contribution, without meeting with the smallest resistance, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress, in order to oppose their progress. The kingdom of Prussia was still a prey to the barbarities of the Russians. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and laid siege to Schweidnitz; while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting itself before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution. The ruin of his Prussian majesty seemed inevitable.

This illustrious prince, driven out of Bohemia, was on all sides surrounded by powerful armies; and, in consequence

force without the ratification of the two courts; a thing impossible, if it is supposed the king of England's German dominions were to be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least prospect. "But it is evident," added they, "that France herself did "not understand the hands of the Hanoverians to be tied up till a general "peace, by the suspension of arms concluded at Closter-seven, from her insist-"ing on having that stipulated, as an express condition in her artful scheme "of explication, proposed by the count de Lynar, the Danish minister." *Vindication of the King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover.*

of the convention of Closter-seven, he seemed to be deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependence. In what manner he extricated himself out of these difficulties, and what line of policy was pursued, in such delicate circumstances, by his Britannic majesty, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

LETTER XXXIII.

State of EUROPE, *and the History of the general War, continued from the Convention of* CLOSTER-SEVEN, *to the Battle of* MINDEN, *or* THORNHAUSEN, *in* 1759.

THE affairs of England, where tumult, clamour, and discontent had long prevailed, were still in disorder, when intelligence arrived of the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, which overwhelmed the court with shame and confusion. Pitt and Legge, the two popular ministers, June 29. had been restored to their respective offices, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, expressed in many warm addresses to the throne. But they had not yet had time to plan any regular system of measures; and the first enterprise they hazarded miscarried to the no small mortification of their friends, and to the severe disappointment, sorrow, and surprise of the whole kingdom.

This was an expedition to the coast of France, in order to raise the drooping spirits of the people by an appearance of vigour, and the credit of the British arms, so sunk in the eyes of all Europe, by some great blow, and to induce, if possible, the French monarch to withdraw part of his troops from Germany, for the defence of his own dominions, instead of prosecuting foreign conquests. Its ultimate purpose was the relief of the electorate of Hanover, and its immediate object the destruction of the French shipping and naval stores at

Rochfort,

Rochfort. The destination of the armament, however, was kept a profound secret. But the highest expectations of success were formed from the magnitude of the preparations, and the confidence which the public had in the abilities of Mr. Secretary Pitt, by whom the enterprise was said to have been planned.

Happily these expectations began in some measure to abate, in consequence of certain unforeseen delays, before the sailing of the fleet. At length, on the ill-omened day that the duke of Cumberland signed the convention of Closter-seven, the formidable armament put to sea. Sept. 8. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, under Sir Edward Hawke, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and a number of transports, carrying ten regiments of land forces, commanded by Sir John Mordaunt. The hopes of the people were again revived: their petitions to heaven were fervent; and imagination, warmed by vows and wishes, looked fondly forward to some important conquest. What then was the astonishment of the nation, when this mighty fleet, which had cost the government almost a million of money, after beating off the coast of France for three weeks, and filling the inhabitants of the sea-ports with terror, returned to England without having taken so much as a fishing town!—without having attempted or effected any thing! except destroying some half-finished fortifications on the little island of Aix, situated at the mouth of the river Charente, which leads up to Rochfort.

Language cannot paint the expressions of disappointment that appeared in every countenance. Every heart seemed to feel the national disgrace, and every eye to lighten with indignation at the officers employed in the expedition. The officers endeavoured to throw the blame of their miscarriage on the ministry, in planning an impracticable enterprise. The ministry, supported by the voice of the people, retorted the charge, by accusing the officers of cowardice or incapacity. A *court* of *inquiry*, appointed by his majesty, *censured* the

the *conduct* of Sir John Mordaunt, the commander in chief; and a *court-martial*, composed of officers of reputation, *acquitted* him of the charge of *disobeying* his *instructions*. The public opinion remained the same.

In the course of this trial and inquest it appeared, That the ministry had reason to believe, on good information, that an attempt upon Rochfort would be very practicable. Nor was there any thing offered to prove the impracticability of such attempt, if it had been made when the fleet first arrived before that place. But it was proved, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, and to the severe regret of all lovers of their king and country, of every man who had any pride in the military glory of England, That the time which ought to have been employed in action was spent in consultations and councils of war, and the purposed descent finally relinquished without any sufficient cause [1]. In a word, the principal officers, admiral Hawke excepted, seemed mutually desirous to avoid a landing. And their frequent consultations, notwithstanding the ardour of the troops, who were impatient to retrieve the honour of their country, seemed to have more in view than a common excuse for inaction; a concerted apology for not making a descent, than any hostile purpose against the enemy.

While the people of Great Britain were mourning over this shameful miscarriage, which, joined to the accumulating misfortunes of the king of Prussia, and the mortifying convention of Closter-seven, exhibited a most melancholy picture of their affairs in Europe, those in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. Although a large reinforcement of troops had been sent thither, and a vast supply of warlike stores, the third campaign served only to swell the triumphs of the enemy.

The attack upon Crown Point, so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisburg. Lord

1. See the printed *Evidence* in the publications of the times.

Loudon,

Loudon, who in perſon was to command the land forces, accordingly left New York on the ninth of July, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and ſailed for Halifax; where he was joined by admiral Holbourn with a conſiderable fleet, and about five thouſand land forces. But when the fleet and army were almoſt ready to proceed for Cape Breton, information was brought to Halifax, that the Breſt fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, with a reinforcement of troops, and an abundant ſupply of ammunition and proviſions, was arrived at Louiſburg. This intelligence immediately ſuſpended the preparations, and damped the ardour of the Britiſh officers. Councils of war were held one after another; and the reſult of the whole was, That as the place which had been the object of their armament was ſo ſtrongly reinforced, the French fleet rather ſuperior to the Engliſh, and the ſeaſon of the year ſo far advanced, it was adviſeable to defer the enterpriſe till a more favourable opportunity.

Thus terminated the projected expedition againſt Louiſburg, like that againſt Rochfort, in a manner inglorious to the Britiſh arms, and diſgraceful to the ſpirit of the Britiſh officers. But thoſe were not the worſt conſequences that attended it.

Since the taking of Oſwego, the French had remained maſters of the Great Lakes: nor could the Britiſh forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and ſeducing or compelling them to act in their favour. The country of the Six Nations, the only body of Indians who preſerved even the ſhadow of friendſhip to England, was abandoned to the mercy of the barbarous enemy. The Britiſh forts at the great Carrying Place were demoliſhed, and Wood Creek was induſtriouſly ſhut up. In conſequence of theſe unfortunate circumſtances, all communication with our Indian allies was cut off; and what was ſtill worſe, the whole Engliſh frontier lay perfectly uncovered to the irruptions of the French and their deſolating ſavages. All our

fine

fine ſettlements on the Mohawk river, as well as on the ground, called the German Flats, were deſtroyed.

Elated with ſo many advantages, the French were ambitious of diſtinguiſhing the campaign by ſome important blow. And no ſooner did the marquis de Montcalm learn, that lord Loudon, with the main body of the Engliſh forces, had left New-York, than he determined to lay ſiege to Fort William Henry. This fort had been built on the ſouthern ſide of Lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the Britiſh ſettlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by colonel Monro. Nor were thoſe its only ſecurity. An army of four thouſand five hundred men, under the conduct of general Webb, was poſted at no great diſtance, and a much greater force might have been aſſembled. The French forces, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent forts, together with a party of Indians and Canadians, are ſaid to have amounted to nine thouſand men. With theſe, and a good train of artillery, Montcalm advanced againſt the object of his enterpriſe, while general Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference bordering on infatuation, or intimately allied to baſeneſs. In a word, the enemy meeting with no obſtruction from the quarter whence they dreaded it moſt, obliged the Engliſh fort to ſurrender.

The garriſon was allowed to march out with the honours of war. But the Indians in the French army, diſregarding the articles of capitulation, fell upon the ſoldiers, and the ſavages in the Engliſh ſervice, as ſoon as they left the place, pillaging them, dragging them out of their ranks, ſcalping, tomahawking, and exerciſing upon them every ſpecies of cruelty known among the natives of North America [2]. And what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped poſte-

2. Theſe barbarities are ſtrongly delineated in many letters from the officers, after they arrived at New York.

rity will not credit, two thouſand Engliſhmen, with arms in their hands, and in danger every moment of becoming the victims of ſuch violence, remained tame ſpectators of theſe barbarities, or ſought ſafety only in flight!

The marquis de Montcalm, however, no leſs generous than brave, was able at length to quell the fury of the ſavages, and treated the ſufferers with great humanity. Yet his ſummons to colonel Monro, when he began the ſiege, leaves room to ſuppoſe, that he meant, in caſe of reſiſtance, to ſtrike terror into the Britiſh troops by a new diſplay of Indian cruelty. "I am ſtill able," ſays he, "to *reſtrain* the "*ſavages*, and *to oblige* them *to obſerve* a *capitulation*, as "none of them have been *killed*; but this *controul* will not "be in my power in *other circumſtances* [3]."

When intelligence of thoſe new loſſes and diſgraces arrived in England, the people, already ſufficiently mortified, ſunk into a general deſpondency. And certain moral and political writers, who foretold the ruin of the nation, and aſcribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and an utter extinction of the martial ſpirit, gained univerſal credit [4]. But the more zealous friends of the new adminiſtration, in conjunction with the younger officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and ſeemed to long for an opportunity to give the lie to the viſionary prognoſtics of ſplenetic theory and croaking melancholy. In the mean time public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a leſs gloomy direction. The firſt ray of hope came from the Eaſt.

When admiral Watſon returned to the coaſt of Coromandel, after reducing the fortreſs of Gheria, the reſidence of the famous pirate Angria, he was informed of the loſs of

3. *Letter*, dated Aug. 3, 1757, and ſigned MONTCALM.

4. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe writers was Dr. Brown, whoſe *Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, abounding with awful predictions, was bought up and read with incredible avidity, and as much confided in as if he had been divinely inſpired.

Calcutta,

Calcutta, with all the horrid circumſtances attending it, and reſolved upon revenge. He accordingly took on board Mr. Clive, now advanced to the rank of colonel, with part of the Engliſh Eaſt India company's troops at Madraſs, and ſailed for the bay of Bengal. By a zealous co-operation of the ſea and land forces, the forts of Buzbuzia and Tannah were ſpeedily reduced. The town of Calcutta was recovered; and the Engliſh colours being once more hoiſted on Fort William, Mr. Drake and the members of the council, who had hitherto remained on board the ſhips in the river, were again put in poſſeſſion of the government.

Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, the Britiſh commanders made themſelves maſters alſo of the large town of Hughley, where the nabob had eſtabliſhed his principal magazines. Enraged at ſo many loſſes, and dreading more, Surajah Dowlah aſſembled a great army, and marched toward Calcutta, determined ſeverely to chaſtiſe the audacity of the invaders, and even finally to expel every Engliſhman from the province of Bengal. But he met with ſo warm a ſalute from colonel Clive, captain Coote, and other gallant officers, at the head of the company's troops, reinforced with ſix hundred ſailors from the fleet, as induced him to ſue for peace, and agree to ſuch terms as the Engliſh commanders thought proper to dictate. He engaged to reſtore to the Eaſt-India company all their factories, goods, and money, which had been ſeized by his orders; to reinſtate them in all their former privileges; and to allow them to extend their preſidency over thirty-eight neighbouring villages, conformable to a diſputed grant that had been obtained from the Great Mogul [5].

Informed of the new war between France and Great Britain, and having nothing now to fear from the nabob, the Engliſh commanders reſolved to turn their arms againſt the French factories in Bengal. Their firſt object was the re-

5. Orme's *Hiſt. Indoſt.* book vii. Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1757.

duction

duction of Chandernagore, the principal French ſettlement in the province, and a place of great ſtrength, ſituated a little higher up the river Hughley than Calcutta. In the expedition againſt this town and fort, colonel Clive commanded ſeven hundred European troops, and ſixteen hundred Sepoys, or ſoldiers of the country, habituated to the uſe of fire-arms. The ſquadron, conſiſting of three ſail of the line, and a ſloop of war, was conducted by the admirals Watſon and Pocock. The place was defended by ſix hundred Europeans, and three hundred Sepoys, who gallantly diſputed every poſt. But ſo powerful was the cannonade from the ſhips, as ſoon as they could bring their guns to bear upon the works, and from two batteries, mounted with twenty-four pounders, that aſſailed with a croſs fire the two baſtions of the fort againſt which the men of war laid their broadſides, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, after a ſhort but vigorous conflict of three hours.

As conqueſt naturally expands the views of the conqueror, Clive, who was formed for vaſt undertakings, no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of Chandernagore, than he conceived the deſign of humbling ſtill farther the nabob of Bengal, and of advancing to a yet greater height the intereſts of the Engliſh Eaſt India company. And the conduct of that prince furniſhed him with many pretexts for renewing hoſtilities.

Surajah Dowlah was backward in fulfilling the treaty he had lately concluded with the company. He attempted to evade the execution of the chief articles of it; and he had entered into ſecret intrigues with the French, to whom he ſeemed diſpoſed to afford protection in return for ſupport. The Engliſh colonel therefore reſolved to compel him to perform his ſtipulations; and, in caſe of refuſal, to chaſtiſe him for his breach of faith, and even to diveſt him of his authority. In the laſt reſolution he was confirmed (if it was not ſuggeſted) by a diſcovery of the diſſaffection of Meer

Jaffier, commander in chief of the nabob's forces, and of the intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with the French officers in the Decan.

The meaſures employed by Clive, to accomplish this revolution, do no leſs honour to his ſagacity and addreſs, as a politician, than to his vigour and ſkill, as a commander. While he conducted an intricate and dangerous negociation with Meer Jaffier, by means of his agents, he counterfeited friendſhip ſo artfully, as not only to quiet the ſuſpicions of the Nabob, but to induce him to diſſolve his army; which had been aſſembled at Plaſſy, a ſtrong camp to the ſouth of his capital, before the taking of Chandernagore, in conſequence of a report, that the Engliſh commander meant next to attack Muxadavad. "Why do you keep your forces in the "field," ſaid he inſidiouſly, "after ſo many marks of friend-"ſhip and confidence?—They diſtreſs all the merchants, "and prevent us from renewing our trade. The Engliſh "cannot ſtay in Bengal without freedom of commerce. "Do not reduce us to the neceſſity of ſuſpecting, that you "intend to deſtroy us as ſoon as you have an opportu-"nity [6]."

In order to quiet theſe pretended fears, Surajah Dowlah recalled his army, though not without great anxiety. "If," cried he, with keen emotion, "the colonel ſhould deceive "me!"—And the ſecret departure of the Engliſh agents from Muxadavad ſoon convinced him that he was deceived. He again aſſembled his army, and ordered it to re-occupy its former camp at Plaſſy; after having made Meer Jaffier, by the moſt ſolemn oaths upon the Koran, renew his obligations of fidelity and allegiance.

The Engliſh commander, who had hoped to take poſſeſſion of that important poſt, was not a little diſconcerted by this movement. The nabob had reached Plaſſy, twelve hours before him, at the head of fifty thouſand foot, and eighteen

6. Orme, ubi ſup.

thouſand

thousand horse. These forces were protected by fifty pieces of cannon, planted in the openings between the columns, into which the Indian army was divided, and partly directed by forty Frenchmen. Clive, however, though surprised at the enemy's numbers as well as at their formidable array, resolved to give them battle. He accordingly drew up his little army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand Sepoys, under cover of eight field-pieces. The cannonade was brisk on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning till near noon; when a heavy shower damaged the enemy's powder, and their fire began gradually to flag.

Nor was this the only circumstance in favour of the English army. Surajah Dowlah, who had hitherto remained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, and been flattered every moment with assurances of victory, was now informed that Meer Murdeen, the only general on whose fidelity he could rely, was mortally wounded. Overwhelmed by so weighty a misfortune, he sent for Meer Jaffier, aud throwing his turban on the ground, "Jaffier!" exclaimed he, "that turban "you must defend." The traitor bowed, and with his hand on his breast, promised his best services. But no sooner did he join his troops, than he sent a letter to colonel Clive, acquainting him with what had passed; and requesting him either instantly to push on to victory, or to storm the nabob's camp, during the following night.

The letter, however, was not delivered till the fortune of the day was decided; so that Clive was still held in some degree of suspense with respect to the ultimate intentions of Jaffier. Meanwhile the nabob, understanding that his general continued inactive, suddenly ordered a retreat. Mounting a camel, soon after, he fled toward Muxadavad, accompanied by two thousand horsemen. And the English army, having surmounted every difficulty, entered his camp about five in the afternoon, without any other obstruction than what was occasioned by baggage and stores; it being utterly abandoned

abandoned by his troops which were seen flying on all sides in the utmost confusion [7].

Having at length received Meer Jaffier's letter, Clive pressed on with his victorious army to Daudpore, regardless of the rich plunder of the enemy's camp. He arrived there about eight o'clock in the evening, and next morning saluted the traitor nabob (though more properly subah) of Bengal, Baher, and Orixa.

The new nabob hastened with his troops to Muxadavad; whither he was followed by the English commander. From that city, Surajah Dowlah had made his escape in disguise, the day after his defeat; accompanied only by his favourite women, and by the eunuch who governed his seraglio, having lost all confidence in his army, and in his officers, both civil and military. He was taken; brought back to his capital; imprisoned, and put to death by order of Meerum, the son of Jaffier; an ambitious and cruel youth, who was unwilling to leave any thing in the power of fortune that violence could secure [8]. Nor can his conduct be blamed on the maxims of Asiatic policy. His father's sway, which otherwise might have been disputed, was instantly acknowledged over all the three provinces that compose the viceroyalty or subahship.

It now only remained for colonel Clive to make Meer Jaffier, whom he had seated in the *Musnud* or throne, fulfil the conditional engagements into which he had solemnly entered, before the English army was put in motion for his support. After attempting some evasions, by pleading the lowness of his predecessor's treasury, the nabob found it necessary to adhere to every stipulation. And a treaty to the following purport was read, and acknowledged to have been signed by him.

"I engage, That as soon as I shall be established in the

7. Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book vii. 8. Id ibid.

"govern-

" government of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, I will maintain " the treaty of peace concluded with the English by Surajah " Dowlah; that the enemies of the English shall be my " enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans; that all " the effects and factories belonging to the French in Ben- " gal, the paradise of nations, or in Behar and Orixa, shall " remain in the possession of the English—and I will never " more allow them to settle in any of the three provinces; " that, in consideration of the losses which the English " company have sustained by the capture and plunder of " Calcutta by the nabob, and the charges occasioned by " maintaining forces to recover their factories, I will give " one *Crore* of rupees," equivalent to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; " and that, for the effects " plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will " give fifty *lacks* of rupees," equivalent to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He also agreed to indemnify the Armenian, Gentoo, and other Asiatic inhabitants of Calcutta, and greatly to enlarge the territory of the English East India Company [9]. In a word, the indemnification and restitutions, with a donation of fifty lacks of rupees to the fleet and army, exclusive of private gratuities, amounted to the enormous sum of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Near one third of that sum was immediately paid in coined silver [10].

Before information arrived in England of this great revolution in the south of Asia, so favourable to the interests of Great Britain, a variety of events had happened in Europe, which served to revive the spirit of the English nation, and give a more agreeable turn to the affairs of his Britannic majesty and his allies.

While the king of Prussia was wholly occupied in observing the motions of the Austrians, and struggling to preserve

9. Orme, ubi sup. Lond. *Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1758.
10. Orme, book vii.

his footing in Bohemia, the army of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, having formed, as already observed, a junction with the French army under the prince de Soubise, at Erfurth, assumed the title of the *Combined Army*, whose immediate object it was to drive the Prussians out of Saxony. The generals of that army accordingly resolved to march down the Saala, (supposing they had nothing to apprehend from his Prussian majesty) and begin their operations with the siege of Leipsic. This enterprise they chose, in preference to any other, because they would there be at hand to receive all kind of succours from Richelieu's army, now entirely at liberty, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven; and also because, in case of success, they could take up their winter-quarters in that part of Saxony, and proceed next campaign, in full force, to the entire conquest of the country, as well as to that of Magdeburg and Brandenburg. But all their designs were broken, by the vigilance and activity of the enterprising Frederick.

Aware of the necessity of opposing the progress of the French and Imperialists, or of humbling himself at the feet of his enemies, the king of Prussia pursued a line of conduct worthy of a hero and a commander. Leaving an army of forty battalions and seventy squadrons under the prince of Bevern, to observe the motions of the Austrians, and defend Silesia, he marched to Dresden; quickly assembled a new army, and proceeded to the Saala. The enemy abandoned Erfurth, on his approach, and retired to Eisenach. He followed them, with an intention to give them battle, but found them too advantageously posted to hazard an attack; and as they seemed studiously to decline an action, he fell back on the Saala, the better to subsist his troops. Various movements were afterward made by both armies. And the generals of the combined army having received a reinforcement under the duke de Broglio, during the absence of his Prussian majesty, who had been obliged to march to the relief of his capital, they resumed their resolution of penetrating into

Saxony.

Saxony. They accordingly passed the Saala, established their head-quarters at Weissenfels, and sent the count de Mailly to summon Leipsic.

Mareschal Keith, who had thrown himself into that important place with six thousand men, treated the summons with contempt. And before the enemy could form the siege, he was happily joined by the king of Prussia, who now saw the necessity of giving battle to the combined army, consisting of fifty thousand French and Imperialists, with less than half its number. With this view he passed the Saala at Weissenfels, Merseburg, and Halle, the enemy having repassed the same river on his approach, and assembled his troops near the village of Rosbach. The combined army was encamped in the neighbourhood; and his Prussian majesty, having examined the position of the enemy, resolved to attack them. He accordingly advanced with that intention; but finding they had changed their position, he desisted from the attempt, and encamped, with his left at Rosbach, his centre at Shartaw, and his right toward Bedra. The generals of the combined army, considering this caution as the effect of fear, and elated with their great superiority in numbers, determined to bring him to an engagement next morning. In consequence of that resolution, they put their troops in motion about eleven o'clock, and advanced in order of battle; the cavalry in front, and the infantry in the rear. Nov. 5.

The king of Prussia remained quiet till two o'clock; when, perceiving that the enemy's purpose was to attack his left flank, he ordered the main body of his army to march in that direction, behind the heights of Reichertswerben. These concealed his motions; and, in order farther to deceive the enemy, he left his camp standing, as if he had been in the most perfect, and even infatuated security. Confident of victory, the French and Imperialists advanced with so much precipitation, that their army was thrown into some disorder in its march; and before they had time to form, they were unexpectedly attacked, and routed by the Prussian horse. Their

cavalry attempted to rally behind the village of Busendorff; but the Prussians pursued their advantage with such ardour, that the enemy were again routed and forced to quit the field.

Meanwhile the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry, though with little success. It was suddenly broken by the Prussian foot, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The prince de Soubise, however, did not yet give up the battle as lost. He ordered the body of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, to advance and sustain the infantry; in hopes of thus enabling them to form the line. But these fresh regiments were instantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field, like the former; and the infantry, after a vigorous combat, was also obliged to give way. A complete victory remained to his Prussian majesty, who did not lose above three hundred men; whereas the loss of the French and Imperialists amounted to near nine thousand, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter were eleven generals, and three hundred officers of inferior rank [11].

With the battle of Rosbach ended the campaign in Saxony, the combined army being no longer fit for action. But there was yet no rest for the victorious Frederick. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, assisted by mareschal Daun and general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that fine province, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. Their first enterprise was the siege of Schweidnitz; a rich, populous, and strong town, situated in a plain about three miles beyond the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and garrisoned with six thousand men.

The siege of this important place was committed to general Nadasti, who invested it on the 27th of October. Mean

11. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 97.

time

time the prince of Bevern lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw, in order to cover that capital; while the prince of Lorrain and mareſchal Daun took poſt at no great diſtance to watch his motions, and prevent his marching to the relief of Schweidnitz. And Nadaſti, who was reinforced during the ſiege by a large body of Bavarians and Wurtemburgers, conducted his operations with ſo much vigour, that, three redoubts being carried at once by aſſault, the place was taken, and the garriſon made priſoners of war, after the trenches had been open only twelve days. Nov. 11.

Prince Charles, having thus ſecured a communication with Bohemia, by acquiring the command of the defiles, and alſo a place well ſtored with proviſions, to retire into in caſe of diſaſter, was encouraged to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp, though now ſtrongly fortified, as ſoon as he was joined by Nadaſti. The cannonading began at nine in the morning, and was continued with great fury till noon, when the Pruſſian entrenchments were ſtormed in every quarter. Twice were the Auſtrians repulſed with great ſlaughter; but their third attack was irreſiſtible. The Pruſſians were driven from moſt of their redoubts; and the prince of Bevern, taking advantage of the friendly approach of night, which only prevented his entrenchments being entirely forced, abandoned his lines, and retired behind the Oder. Nor was this his only misfortune. Going to reconnoitre the victorious enemy, two days after the battle, he was made priſoner by a party of Croats, and Breſlaw ſurrendered to the Auſtrians[12]. Nov. 22

In this deſperate ſituation were the affairs of his Pruſſian majeſty, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs at Roſbach. At that time anxious for the ſafety of Sileſia, the great bone of contention, he arrived at Parchwitz on the Oder, with his ſmall but victorious army, now conſiſting only of Nov. 28.

12. Id. ibid.

nineteen battalions and thirty-three ſquadrons. Here he was joined by the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern; the whole forming a gallant body of thirty-ſix thouſand men, determined to conquer or die with their leader.

The Auſtrians, thinking the campaign finiſhed, were preparing to go into winter quarters[13], when they heard of the warlike king's approach. It rather ſurpriſed than alarmed them. Prince Charles and mareſchal Daun immediately reſolved to give him battle. Having left a ſtrong garriſon in Breſlaw, they accordingly paſſed the river at Schweidnitz, at the head of eighty thouſand good troops, and were advancing toward Glogaw, with the fulleſt aſſurance of victory, when they were met by the Pruſſian monarch at the village of Luthen, near Liſſa. There a general engagement took place.

Dec. 5.

The Auſtrian or Imperial army was very ſtrongly poſted. It was drawn up in a plain, behind ſeveral little hills, which were all covered with heavy cannon; and its left was farther ſecured by a mountain and a wood, alſo planted with artillery. The village of Nypern, on the right wing, and that of Luthen on the left, were likewiſe fortified, and filled with infantry. But prince Charles and mareſchal Daun made leſs uſe than might have been expected of ſo advantageous a poſition. Deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Pruſſia toward their right, againſt which he made violent demonſtrations, they drew their chief ſtrength thither; whilſt he, concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a ſublime ſtroke of generalſhip, to bear upon their left, againſt which he had meditated his real attack[14]. And mareſchal Daun, who commanded

13. Lloyd, ubi ſup.

14. The deſcription of this battle is drawn from a diligent compariſon of the Pruſſian and Auſtrian accounts, publiſhed by authority; yet does the author of the hiſtorical article, in the *Annual Regiſter* for 1758, ſaid to be the late

commanded in person on the right of the Austrians, instead of attacking the thin left wing of the Prussians, which he might certainly have broken, and by that means have divided the king's attention, as well as his force, ordered the Austrian right and centre to sustain the left wing, already in confusion, and retiring so fast as to throw the fresh troops into disorder; whilst the victorious enemy, advancing in order of battle, prevented them from forming. The left wing therefore excepted, the whole Austrian army was routed, one battalion after another.

Other circumstances contributed to the success of his Prussian majesty. The auxiliary troops, consisting of Bavarians and Wurtemburgers, who had never seen an enemy, being injudiciously placed on the most exposed part of the Austrian left wing, were soon broken by the Prussian infantry. And the sagacious Frederick, whose superior genius alike enabled him to take advantage of the enemy's blunders, and to defeat their best conducted schemes, having foreseen that general Nadasti, with the Austrian body of reserve, would probably advance and attack the cavalry of his right wing, had wisely placed four battalions behind them; so that when this commander attempted to take the Prussians in flank, and had thrown some regiments of horse into confusion, the fire of the four concealed battalions obliged him to retire in disorder.

The Austrians, however, made a vigorous stand at the village of Luthen, which was fortified with redoubts and entrenchments, and defended by the flower of the Imperial army. But after a desperate combat, maintained for more than an hour, during which the fortune of the day seemed still doubtful, the Prussian infantry having been three times repulsed in spite of their most gallant efforts, the village was

late Dr. Campbell, and other English historians, in blind submission to his authority, represent the *real attack* to have been made on the Austrian *right* wing.

abandoned, and a complete victory left to the king, who pursued the enemy as far as Lissa.

The action lasted from one till four in the afternoon, when the Austrians were defeated in all quarters; and night only prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. They left about six thousand men dead on the field, with almost an equal number wounded. And the Prussians took, within a week after the battle, twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand waggons, and two hundred pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of military trophies. Their own loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to at least five thousand[15]. Few battles have been more obstinately disputed, and none could be more honourable to the victors.

But the consequences of the battle of Lissa are the best proof of the king of Prussia's decisive victory, as well as of the honour with which it was gained. The terror inspired by his arms, every where communicated by the celerity of his motions, was for a time of as much use as his effective force. He immediately invested Breslaw, which surrendered in a few days, though garrisoned with seventeen thousand men, who were all made prisoners of war[16].

Dec. 19.

And prince Charles, having collected the remains of his broken forces, retired into Bohemia before the close of the year.

Nothing now remained to the Austrians in Silesia, but the town of Schweidnitz, which his Prussian majesty was too prudent to invest during the rigour of winter, when his troops required repose; especially as he thought it must necessarily fall in the spring. And he was not deceived in his conjecture.

The same good fortune had attended the king of Prussia's affairs in every quarter. The Russians, by making war like barbarians, had so completely exhausted the country they invaded, that they were obliged to return home, for want of provisions, on the approach of winter, leaving only a garri-

15. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 134.

16. Id. ibid.

ſon in Memel. In conſequence of this retreat, general Lewhald, who commanded the royal army in Pruſſia, was left at liberty with thirty thouſand men. Theſe he conducted into Pomerania, and obliged the Swedes to abandon all their conqueſts, except the Penamunder and Anclamer entrenchments, and retire under the cannon of Stralſund, before the end of December. Meantime mareſchal Keith had entered Bohemia, with eight thouſand men, in the abſence of the prince of Lorrain: and having raiſed contributions in different diſtricts, and given an alarm even to Prague itſelf, returned unmoleſted into Saxony, where he put his troops into winter-quarters.

Nor was this good fortune confined merely to the king of Pruſſia. It extended even to his ſubjected allies.

The French, intent only upon plunder, broke almoſt every article of the convention of Cloſter-ſeven. And, in order more freely to indulge their rapacity, and preclude even the poſſibility of revenge, the duke de Richelieu inſiſted, that the brave but unfortunate Hanoverians and Heſſians, who had acted under the duke of Cumberland, ſhould deliver up their arms; while the court of Verſailles, under the pretence that this and other ſtipulations had been omitted through neglect, refuſed to ratify the ignominious convention, unleſs certain explanations were added, although military conventions are ſuppoſed to require no ratification, and are never violated but by the moſt faithleſs nations.

Rouſed by theſe injuries and indignities, by tyranny and rapine abetted by national treachery; but chiefly by the terror of being deprived of their arms, the laſt diſgrace of ſoldiers; the Hanoverian troops, though diſtributed into different cantonments, ſecretly reſolved to reſcue their country from oppreſſion, and had begun to collect themſelves, in conſequence of that reſolution, when the victory, obtained by the king of Pruſſia at Roſbach, more fully awakened their courage, and confirmed them in their generous purpoſe.

Pleaſed with the zeal ſo conformable to his wiſhes, and thinking

thinking himſelf now fully releaſed from the mortifying ſhackles of neutrality impoſed upon him by the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, ſo ſhamefully violated and diſavowed by the court of Verſailles, his Britannic majeſty inveſted prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick with the chief command of his electoral forces, and ordered him to renew hoſtilities againſt his cruel and perfidious enemies. Aſſembled under this gallant leader, the Hanoverians bravely made head againſt their conquerors; and being reinforced in the beginning of the year by a body of Pruſſian horſe, they puſhed the French from poſt to poſt, and obliged them to evacuate ſucceſſively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden.

A. D. 1758.

The town and caſtle of Hoya, on the Weſer, where the enemy attempted to make a ſtand, were reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the ſame river, and made priſoners a garriſon of four thouſand men. An Engliſh ſquadron, under commodore Holmes, compelled them to abandon Embden, the capital of Eaſt Frieſland. And the wretched remnant of a great and lately victorious army found the utmoſt difficulty in repaſſing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off by a body of men, whom it had, a few months before, vanquiſhed, inſulted, and trampled upon.

From this reproach, ſo juſtly merited by the French officers as well as ſoldiers, while in poſſeſſion of Hanover, the duke de Randan, a nobleman of great honour and integrity, who commanded in the capital, was happily exempted. As the pride of conqueſt had never made him behave with inſolence, reſentment had as little power to make him act with rigour on the adverſe turn of affairs. He not only endeavoured, at all times, to reſtrain the ſoldiers within the bounds of diſcipline, but exhibited a glorious proof of humanity, when ordered to evacuate the place. Inſtead of deſtroying the magazine of proviſions according to the uſual, and often wantonly cruel, practice of war, he generouſly left it in the hands of the magiſtrates, to be diſtributed among the lower claſs of the

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inhabitants, who had long been expoſed to the preſſure of famine!

Never perhaps, in any one campaign, were the changes of fortune, the accidents of war, the power of generalſhip, or the force of diſcipline, ſo fully diſplayed, as in that of 1757. Influenced by thoſe changes, the Britiſh miniſtry embraced a new ſyſtem of policy. Mr. Secretary Pitt, who, in order to govern the councils of his ſovereign, had found it expedient to form a coalition with the duke of Newcaſtle and other members of the old adminiſtration, alſo thought fit to contradict his former ſentiments, and the arguments founded upon them, and become the advocate of a German war. But perhaps ſuch a ſacrifice of ſentiments was neceſſary, in order to enable the great Commoner to ſerve his country, even in this prepoſterous manner. George II. though a magnanimous prince, and a lover of his Britiſh ſubjects, was impatient of contradiction in whatever concerned his German dominions.

In conſequence of the new ſyſtem of policy, adopted by the Britiſh miniſtry, and the ardour with which the parliament and the people entered into their views, a ſecond treaty or convention was ſigned at London, between the king of Pruſſia and his Britannic majeſty; by which the contracting parties engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, with the hoſtile powers, but in concert and by mutual agreement and participation. And the king of Great Britain engaged to pay immediately to the Pruſſian monarch the ſum of four millions of German crowns, or ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, in order to enable him to maintain and augment his forces, to be employed in the common cauſe. Liberal ſupplies were alſo granted for the ſupport of the army under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick: and it was farther reſolved to reinforce it with a body of Britiſh troops.

April 11.

The councils of Lewis XV. experienced a change, no leſs remarkable than that which had taken place in thoſe of

George II. The French miniſters had long been the ſport of female caprice. It was their power of pleaſing madame de Pompadour, a favourite miſtreſs who entirely governed their king, that alone qualified them to ſerve their country. Some of the moſt honeſt and able men in the kingdom were turned out of their employments with marks of diſgrace, while others retired with indignation from public ſervice. But the misfortunes of the French arms, at length, obliged the court of Verſailles to call men to the public ſervice upon public principles.

The mareſchal duke de Belleiſle, whoſe exploits I have already had occaſion to relate, and whoſe abilities were known to all Europe, was placed at the head of the military department, as miniſter for war. "I know," ſaid he, in entering on his office, "the miſerable ſtate of our armies, "and it fills me at once with grief and indignation; for the "diſgrace and infamy, which it reflects upon our govern-"ment, are more to be lamented than the evil itſelf:—I "know but too well to what length the want of diſcipline, "pillaging, and licentious violence, have been carried by "our officers and common men, after the example of their "commanders. It mortifies me to think I am a French-"man. But, thank God! my principles are known to be "very different from thoſe that have lately been adopted.

"Had I commanded the army, many enormities would "have been repreſſed: a thouſand things that have been "done would have been omitted; whilſt others, that have "been neglected, would have been executed. I ſhould "have multiplied my communications; I ſhould have had "ſtrong poſts on the right, on the left, and in the centre: I "ſhould have had magazines every where. The quiet and "ſatisfaction of the conquered, under a mild adminiſtration, "would have been equal to that reſentment they have diſco-"vered at being plundered and oppreſſed; and we ſhould "have been as much beloved and admired by them, as we "are at preſent contemned and abhorred. The fatal conſe-

"quences

"quences of a different line of conduct are too obvious to "need being pointed out: they are severely felt. We must "not, however, supinely sink under our misfortunes. A "late reformation, though it seldom can effectually remedy "the disorder, is better than unavailing complaint, or the "tolerance of abuse; let us, therefore, seriously set about it. "There is yet room for hope: and, in our situation, the "absence of future evil may be esteemed a desirable good[16]."

The duke de Belleisle accordingly made every possible exertion, to communicate strength and order to the French army upon the Rhine, now commanded by the count de Clermont, who had succeeded the ravenous and dissipated Richelieu. A body of troops was also assembled at Hanau, under the prince de Soubise, supposed to be intended to penetrate into Bohemia, or to reinforce the army of the empire; but in reality to invade the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and oblige the landgrave to renounce the alliance of his Britannic majesty. In the mean time prince Ferdinand having passed the Rhine, in the face of an enemy fifty thousand strong, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, on the twenty-third day of June, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, with the loss of seven thousand men, and many offiers of distinction.

Among these was the count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, who had been mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, while animating it by his example to make a vigorous effort. His fate was much lamented both by the victors and the vanquished. Having been educated with all the care which an enlightened father could bestow upon a son of fine talents, in order to enable him to maintain the reputation of his ancestors, he united the purest morals to the most elegant manners. He was not only a lover of learning, but master himself of many branches of it. He had seen every part of Europe, and read courts and nations with a

16. *Annual Register*, for 1758.

discerning eye. Military experience was only wanting to complete his accomplishments, and render him a support as well as an ornament to his country. He resolved to acquire such experience. Though lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, he entered that course of glory and danger, which his own ardent spirit and the wishes of his countrymen pointed out to him, and fell in his first campaign. The affectionate father, and patriotic minister, deeply mourned his loss, and mingled the public with the private tear.

The taking of Dusseldorp, however, was the only visible effect of a victory, which did great honour to the military capacity of the Hanoverian general, and to the bravery of his troops. The French army, under the count de Clermont, who was immediately succeeded by M. de Contades, being on its own frontier, was quickly and strongly reinforced; so that prince Ferdinand saw reason to apprehend, that he might soon be obliged to repass the Rhine, by an enemy he had lately defeated. But he resolved to maintain his ground as long as possible, in hopes of being joined by the British troops, the first division of which was already landed at Embden; and, on their arrival, he did not doubt of being able to transfer the seat of war from the Rhine to the Maese, and of gaining such advantages over M. de Contades, as would make it necessary for the prince de Soubise to come to his assistance. Meantime he flattered himself, that the prince of Ysenberg, who commanded the Hessian troops, would be able to protect the territories of the landgrave, and find the French general sufficient employment in that quarter. But in this hope he was disappointed:—and certain unforeseen circumstances conspired to render his whole splendid scheme abortive.

The duke de Broglio, with a strong detachment from the army of the prince de Soubise, defeated the Hessian army, on the twenty-third day of July, near Sangershausen. That victory gave the French the command of the Weser, and it was

was to be feared, if they availed themselves of the advantages they had acquired, that they might be able to cut off the British troops, now on their march to join the Hanoverian army. In such circumstances, prince Ferdinand had no alternative, but either to repass the Rhine or give battle to M. de Contades. The French general studiously avoided an engagement, and heavy rains had rendered the passage of the Rhine impracticable.

Meanwhile M. de Chevert, who had passed that river some time before, with twelve thousand men, in order to attempt the recovery of Dusseldorp, having attacked baron Imhoff, posted near the bridge of Rees with six battalions and four squadrons (to protect a magazine at Meer, and favour the march of the British troops), was repulsed with great slaughter. Imhoff joined the British forces; and M. de Contades, convinced of the superiority of the Hanoverians in valour and discipline, though much inferior in numbers, permitted prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine almost without molestation. The Hessians, assured of support, wore a good countenance, notwithstanding the defeat of general Oberg, who had been sent to their assistance, and the British troops were zealous for action. But the season being too far in the decline to admit of any new plan of operations, prince Ferdinand put his army into winter quarters in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim, toward the end of October [17].

During these transactions on the Rhine, the king of Prussia had experienced many changes of fortune. Having spent the winter in Silesia, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, and obliged the Austrian garrison to surrender in twelve days. April 16. On the recovery of that important place, he divided his principal army, consisting of fifty thousand choice troops, into three bodies; the first commanded by mareschal Keith, the second by him-

17. Lond. *Gazettes*, passim.

self

ſelf in perſon, and the third by prince Maurice of Anhalt Deſſau. With this army, after threatening Bohemia, he ſuddenly entered Moravia; which, for various reaſons, he intended to make the theatre of war, but for none more than its having been hitherto exempted from contribution. Meanwhile he diſpatched his brother Henry, with a body of thirty thouſand men, to oppoſe the army of the Empire, which was aſſembled, under the prince of Deuxponts, near Bamberg in Franconia.

As his Pruſſian majeſty, by his rapid and unexpected march into Moravia, threw his enemies behind him, it was thought he would proceed directly to Vienna. But that politic and enterpriſing prince, though ſurely not deſtitute of ambition, or of the power of forming great deſigns, choſe to purſue a more moderate line of conduct. He ſaw the danger of leaving an Auſtrian garriſon in Olmutz, ſupported by an Auſtrian army in his rear; and therefore reſolved to make himſelf maſter of that ſtrong town, before he advanced farther. May 27. The trenches were accordingly opened before it, and with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. In the meantime mareſchal Daun, having quitted his camp at Lieutomyſſel, in Bohemia, entered Moravia by the way of Billa.

Too cautious, and perhaps too weak, to attempt the relief of Olmutz, by hazarding a battle, the Auſtrian general took poſt in the neighbouring mountains, between Gewitz and Littaw; where he could be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from Bohemia, and whence he could retard the operations of the beſiegers, by keeping them in continual alarm, at the ſame time that he could throw ſuccours into the place, and obſtruct the Pruſſian convoys from Sileſia. In the laſt, his chief object, he was particularly ſucceſsful.

After Olmutz had been inveſted about four weeks, and when the ſiege was in great forwardneſs, notwithſtanding the difficulties with which it was attended, mareſchal Daun intercepted a convoy of four hundred waggons near the defiles of Domſtadt, and obliged general Zeithen, who eſcorted

it,

it, to retire to Troppaw. This loss was irreparable. The king of Prussia, therefore, saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprize; especially as he had received intelligence, that the Russians, already on the frontiers of Silesia, and laying every thing waste, in their progress, with fire and sword, were preparing to enter that fine country, yet bleeding from the ravages of war.

But the gallant Frederick, who although he sometimes forgot himself in prosperity, by being too much elated, never sunk under the pressure of adversity, acquired as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Daun did in making it necessary. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his own dominions, he determined to take his route through the dominions of the enemy. And as mareschal Daun, more effectually to succour Olmutz, had been obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty found no difficulty in accomplishing his purpose. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he lifted his camp at midnight; and proceeded with so little molestation, that he arrived at Koningsgratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, his military stores entire, and even all his sick and wounded[18]!—here he allowed his army some repose, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. But that repose was of short duration. Understanding that the Russians, instead of invading Silesia, had entered the New Marche of Brandenburg, and invested Custrin, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he instantly marched to its relief; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian generals, and the activity of their light troops, he formed a junction with lieutenant-general Dohna, at Frankfort on the Oder, with very little loss.

July 1.

18. Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

No ſooner did the Ruſſian generals, Brown and Fermor, receive intelligence of the king of Pruſſia's approach, than they abandoned the ſiege of Cuſtrin, and took poſt near the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. Though greatly outnumbered by the cruel invaders, the king reſolved to give them battle; conſcious that his troops muſt be ſtimulated by every motive which can impel men to vigorous exertions. Revenge for barbarous wrongs, a deſire of ſaving their country, on the brink of ruin, from future ravages, and of acquiring honour under the eye of a ſovereign and a commander, who had often led them to glory and to conqueſt, he preſumed muſt actuate their hearts. They did not diſappoint his hopes.

Having paſſed the Mitzel, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Pruſſian monarch attempted to turn the enemy's left wing; but the Ruſſian generals, penetrating his purpoſe, defeated it by very excellent diſpoſitions. As the ground did not admit of an extended line, they threw their army into the form of a ſquare, defended on every ſide by cannon and chevaux de friſe. And in this poſition they waited the attack of the Pruſſians, who began the battle with a powerful fire of artillery, which laſted near two hours. Then the Pruſſian infantry advanced to the charge, and completed the havock made by the artillery. Whole regiments of Ruſſians were cut in pieces, by bullets or bayonets, but not a man offered to quit his rank; and freſh regiments ſtill preſſing forward, the Pruſſian infantry, which had given and received ſo many terrible ſhocks, with immovable firmneſs, yielded to the collected impulſe.

Aug. 25.

In that moment of danger and diſmay, when all ſeemed loſt, the intrepid Frederick, by a rapid and maſterly movement, brought the whole cavalry of his right wing to ſupport his centre. Preſſing upon the Ruſſian foot, uncovered by their already broken horſe, the Pruſſian cavalry puſhed them back with great ſlaughter, and allowed the brave bat-

talions leisure to recollect themselves. Returning to the charge, inflamed with rage and resentment at their disgrace, the Prussian infantry decided the doubtful contest. The Russians were every where thrown into confusion. They no longer distinguished friends from foes: they fired upon each other in their ungovernable fury, and even plundered their own baggage. It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid carnage; yet the Russians, though thus distracted and broken, incredible as it may seem, never offered to quit the field. They kept their ground till seven o'clock in the evening, when they made a new struggle for victory, and darkness only put a stop to the effusion of blood. Ten thousand of their best troops were left dead on the spot, and about half that number was mortally wounded. The loss of the Prussians did not exceed fifteen hundred men.[19].

The Russians, in consequence of this severe chastisement, retreated before the victors as far as Landsperg on the frontiers of Poland; and the king of Prussia, happy in having freed his dominions from such a dreadful scourge, hastened to the relief of his brother Henry, now encompassed with enemies, and in the greatest danger of being utterly cut off. He had to oppose not only the Army of the Empire, much superior to his own; the grand Austrian army also entered Saxony, under mareschal Daun: and both these armies proposed to attack him at once. But fortunately his own strong position at Dipposewalde, which he had chosen in order to cover Dresden, and command the course of the Elbe, and the timely arrival of the Prussian monarch, extricated him from all his difficulties, and disconcerted the designs of his enemies. They could not even prevent the king from joining him. And on this junction, mareschal Daun retired from the neighbourhood of Dresden, (Sep. 11.) and fell back as far as Zittaw; while the Army of the Empire

19. *Letters* from the King of Prussia, &c. in Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1758.

took ſhelter in the ſtrong poſt of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied at the beginning of the war.

But the Auſtrian commander, though induced by his extreme caution to avoid an immediate engagement, did not for a moment loſe ſight of his antagoniſt. Advantageouſly poſted at Stolpen, he preſerved a communication with the Army of the Empire, and watched the motions of his Pruſſian majeſty with as keen an attention as ever Fabius, to whom he has been compared, did thoſe of the great Carthaginian general.

The king of Pruſſia, after various movements, for protecting Brandenburg from the incurſions of the Auſtrians, and cutting off their communication with Bohemia, took poſt in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; whence he could command both Miſnia and Luſatia, and at the ſame time preſerve a communication with the army of prince Henry. Mareſchal Daun, who had obſerved theſe motions with concern, advanced to Kitlitz, and came to a reſolution of attacking the Pruſſian camp by ſurpriſe; as the only means of preſerving his footing in Saxony, or finding his way out of it with ſafety.

Having communicated this deſign to the prince of Deux-ponts, who ſtill commanded the Army of the Empire, the Auſtrian general put his army in motion about midnight, and arrived at the place of his deſtination, undiſcovered, by five o'clock in the morning. The Pruſſian right Oct. 14. wing was ſurpriſed and routed; and mareſchal Keith and prince Francis of Brunſwick were killed, in bravely attempting to turn the tide of battle. Their efforts, however, were not without effect. Prince Francis was early ſlain; but Keith, at the head of the Pruſſian infantry, obſtinately maintained the combat againſt the whole weight of the Auſtrian army. Though wounded he refuſed to quit the field. He ſtill continued to animate the companions of his perils; and he had repulſed the Auſtrians, by his perſevering valour,

and

and was purſuing them, when he received the deadly bullet in his breaſt[20].

The king of Pruſſia, who never ſtood more in need of all his firmneſs, activity, and preſence of mind, now aſſumed in perſon the command of his gallant infantry. But finding it impracticable to recover the village of Hochkirchen, which had been loſt in the firſt ſurpriſe, he ordered his right wing to fall back as far as Weiſſenberg, the left ſtill remaining at Bautzen. This poſition was nearly as good as the former. But his Pruſſian majeſty, beſide the loſs of reputation inſeparable from a defeat, had loſt two able generals, ſeven thouſand brave men, and the greater part of his camp-equipage[21]. Yet had the Auſtrians ſmall cauſe of exultation. They had loſt about the ſame number of men, without accompliſhing their purpoſe. The vanquiſhed enemy was ſtill formidable.

Of this the victors had ſoon many diſtinguiſhed proofs. So little was the king of Pruſſia diſcouraged by his defeat, that he offered battle to mareſchal Daun immediately after it. And as the Auſtrian commander not only declined the challenge, but kept cautiouſly within his fortified camp, (in hopes of amuſing his heroic antagoniſt, whom he durſt not openly meet in the field, till ſome blow could be given in another quarter, or ſome new advantage ſtolen in an unguarded hour) the protector of his people, and the avenger of their

20. Lloyd, vol. i. Mareſchal Keith was brother to the attainted earl Marſhal of Scotland; had been engaged with him in the rebellion in 1715, and was obliged on that account to abandon his country. He raiſed himſelf to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Ruſſian ſervice in 1734, and highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Turks in 1737, eſpecially at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. In 1741 and 1742 he commanded againſt the Swedes, and gained the battle of Williamſtrand. In 1747 he quitted the Ruſſian ſervice, and entered that of Pruſſia. In 1749 he was made a knight of the Black Eagle and governor of Berlin, with a penſion of twelve thouſand dollars, beſide his pay. In the preſent war he approved himſelf a great commander. He was a middle-ſized man, with a very martial countenance, but of a humane and benevolent temper. Id. ibid.

21. Pruſſian and Auſtrian *Gazettes* compared.

wrongs, took a bolder method of ſhewing his ſuperior generalſhip, and of recovering that trophy which had been torn from his brow, not by the ſword of valour, but by the wily hand of ſtratagem. Darting, like the lightning of Heaven, to a diſtant ſcene of action, he ſtruck his enemies with terror, and mankind with admiration.

The Auſtrian generals, Harſche and de Ville, having already formed the ſiege of Neiſs and the blockade of Coſel, his Pruſſian majeſty ſaw the neceſſity of marching to the relief of Sileſia, be the fate of Saxony what it might. Committing this important conqueſt to the care of his brother Henry, he accordingly quitted his camp at Dobre- Oct. 24. ſchutz; and by the celerity of his motions ſoon arrived, without any obſtruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz.

In conſequence of this rapid march, all the advantages of mareſchal Daun's ſtudied poſition, and all the promiſed fruits of his boaſted victory at Hochkirchen, were loſt in a moment. An open paſſage into Sileſia now lay before the Pruſſian monarch. And he purſued his route without interruption, or any conſiderable loſs; though general Laudohn hung upon his rear with twenty-four thouſand men, and another army was ſent to attack him in front. In ſpite of the efforts of all theſe armies, the intrepid Frederick accompliſhed his purpoſe, and defeated the deſigns of his Nov. 1. numerous enemies. The ſiege of Neiſs was raiſed on his approach, as was the blockade of Coſel; and the armies, under the generals Harſche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia [22].

Having thus driven the Auſtrians out of Sileſia, without being under the neceſſity of hazarding a battle, the king of Pruſſia inſtantly returned by the ſame route, and with the ſame expedition, to the relief of Saxony, now in a manner covered with the forces of his enemies. The Army of the

22. Ibid.

Empire

Empire had obliged prince Henry to abandon his poſt at Sedlitz, and had cut off his communication with Leipſic; at the ſame time that mareſchal Daun attempted to obſtruct his communication with Dreſden. He found means, however, to throw himſelf into the latter, and afterward to retire to the other ſide of the Elbe. Meanwhile the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts laid ſiege to thoſe two important places, while a third army advanced toward Torgaw, and inveſted that ſtrong fortreſs. But Dreſden, before which mareſchal Daun appeared, with an army of ſixty thouſand men, and which was defended only by the fifth part of that number, was the enemy's grand object. Count Schemettau, the Pruſſian governor, was therefore under the neceſſity of ſetting fire to the ſuburbs, in order to preſerve the city for his maſter; and two hundred and ſixty-ſix houſes were conſumed, but very few perſons loſt their lives [23]. Nov. 9.

This conflagration has been repreſented by the emiſſaries of the court of Vienna, and by certain declamatory writers, as a terrible outrage on humanity. But as it appears that the inhabitants had timely notice of the governor's intention [24], he ſeems to have acted in perfect conformity with the laws of war, even as explained by the benevolent ſpirit of Monteſquieu. For thoſe laws require, That, in military operations, the leaſt poſſible injury, conſiſtent with the acquiſition or preſervation of dominion, be done to the body of the people [25].

By the deſtruction of the ſuburbs of Dreſden, the cauſe of ſo much clamour and obloquy, the city was rendered more ſecure. It could not now be taken but by a regular ſiege; that muſt require time; and the king of Pruſſia was faſt advancing to its relief. Theſe conſiderations induced mareſchal Daun to relinquiſh his enterpriſe: and the Pruſſian monarch, a few days after, entered Dreſden in triumph. The ſiege of Leipſic was raiſed; that of Glogaw had before been given up; and the Auſtrian and Nov. 20.

23. *Certificate of the Magiſtrates of Dreſden*, No. II. III. Ap. *Ann. Reg.* 1758.
24. Id. ibid.
25. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. x.

imperial armies retired into Bohemia, where they went into winter-quarters, without attempting any thing farther. Nor was this all. The Ruſſians who, in their retreat, had inveſted Colberg, in Pruſſian Pomerania, were obliged to abandon the undertaikng with diſgrace; and the Swedes, who had entered the ſame country, were not more fortunate in their operations than their barbarous allies [26]. The king of Pruſſia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever. Equally diſtinguiſhed by valour and conduct, the exploits of every other commander were loſt in the ſplendour of his victories and retreats.

While thoſe illuſtrious atchievements were performing in Germany, the grand theatre of war, the Britiſh arms had recovered their luſtre, both by land and ſea. The vigorous and enterpriſing ſpirit of the prime miniſter ſeemed to communicate itſelf to all ranks and claſſes of men, but more eſpecially to the officers of the army and navy. Patriotic zeal took place of ſluggiſh indifference, prompt deciſion of wavering heſitation, and fearleſs exertion of timid caution. The nerve of action was new ſtrung. Every boſom panted for fame, and for an opportunity of retrieving the national honour.

That bold ſpirit of enterpriſe, which caught freſh fire from the king of Pruſſia's victories, and the ſucceſſes of the army under prince Ferdinand, was alſo inflamed by certain fortunate events at ſea, in the beginning of the ſeaſon. As admiral Oſborn was cruiſing off the coaſt of Spain between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, he fell in with a French ſquadron, on the 28th of February, conſiſting of three ſail of the line and a frigate, commanded by the marquis du Queſne. The frigate eſcaped by ſwiftneſs of ſailing. But two of the ſhips of the line, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, and the Orpheus of ſixty-four, were taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance; and the third, named the Oriflamme, was driven a-ſhore near the

26. Foreign *Gazettes*, paſſim.

caſtle

castle of Aiglos, where she found shelter under the Spanish neutrality [27].

This was a sharp blow. The French not only lost two capital ships, but saw them added to the British navy. Nor was that their only misfortune by sea. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, dispersed and drove on shore, near the isle of Aix, a French fleet, consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, intended for the support of their settlements in North America [28]. Two other convoys were dispersed, and several transports taken; and, on the 29th of May, the Raisonable, a French ship of the line, commanded by the prince de Mombazon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, and mounting sixty-four guns, was taken by captain Dennis in the Dorsetshire, an English seventy-gun ship, after a smart engagement.

Roused to enthusiasm by these victories, and the rising passion for glory, the people of England, who had so lately trembled under the apprehensions of a French invasion, now talked of nothing but carrying hostilities into the heart of France. And the popular minister, instead of regulating that enthusiasm, by confining it to its proper element, or directing its energy against important objects, allowed it to take its own wild sweep, and spend the strongest impulse of its force in air.

A new expedition to the coast of France was planned, notwithstanding the miscarriage of the former, and the disgrace it had brought upon the British arms; such a descent being represented by the Great Commoner, as the most effectual means of serving his majesty's German allies, by drawing the attention of the enemy to their own internal defence, and consequently of weakening their efforts upon the

27. *Letter* from admiral Osborne, March 12, 1758.
28. *Letter* from Sir Edward Hawke, April 11, 1758.

Rhine.

Rhine. Two ſtrong ſquadrons, deſtined for this ſervice, were accordingly equipped; the greater, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line, commanded by the admirals Anſon and Hawke, and the ſmaller of four ſail of the line, ſeven frigates, ſix ſloops, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-ketches, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, under the direction of commodore Howe. The forces embarked, for the ſame purpoſe, conſiſted of ſixteen regiments of foot, nine troops of light horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, aſſiſted by lord George Sackville.

That great armament ſailed from the iſle of Wight (where the troops had been for ſome time encamped) in the beginning of June, leaving every heart elated with the higheſt hopes of its ſucceſs. Nor did theſe hopes ſeem ill founded. The admirals Anſon and Hawke, with the fleet under their command, proceeded to the bay of Biſcay, in order to ſpread more widely the alarm, and watch the motion of the French ſquadron in Breſt harbour; while commodore Howe with the tranſports, and the ſquadron appointed for their protection, ſteered directly to St. Malo, a ſea-port town on the coaſt of Brittany, againſt which the armament ſeemed to have been deſtined, if it had any particular object. As the place appeared too ſtrong to admit of any attempt on the ſide next the ſea, the troops were diſembarked in Cancalle Bay, about two leagues diſtant, with a view of attacking it on the land-ſide. But it was found, when reconnoitered, to be equally inacceſſible on that ſide, except by regular approaches, for which the invaders were not prepared[29]. They therefore contented themſelves with deſtroying the ſhipping and naval ſtores at St. Servan, a kind of ſuburb of St. Malo, and returned to Spithead without attempting any thing farther.

29. Lond. *Gazette*, June 17, 1758. See alſo *Letter* from an officer on board the Eſſex, commodore Howe's ſhip.

The

The ſucceſs of this expedition, though conſiderable, by no means anſwered the ardour of public expectation. But that ardour was again excited, by the moſt vigorous preparations for a new armament, which failed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt; the land-forces commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh (the duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville having been ſent to command the Britiſh forces in Germany), and the fleet and tranſports under the conduct of commodore Howe. The troops were diſembarked in the neighbourhood of Cherburg, which being an open town on the land ſide, was entered without oppoſition. A neglected mole was demoliſhed; a contribution of three thouſand pounds was levied upon the inhabitants; and twenty-one pieces of cannon were carried off in triumph, and pompouſly exhibited to the view of the Engliſh populace, as the ſpoils of France. After they had been ſhewn in Hyde Park to gaping multitudes, they were drawn through the principal ſtreets of London with the greateſt military parade, and formally lodged in the Tower.

But the Britiſh miniſtry had ſoon reaſon to repent of this empty ovation, which flattered ſo highly the prejudices of the vulgar, and gratified, for a moment, the national paſſion for glory and conqueſt. While the people of England were exulting over the taking of a place leſs conſiderable than many of their own fiſhing-towns, the victorious battalions were expoſed to the moſt imminent peril.

Having reimbarked the troops at Cherburg without moleſtation, the commander in chief (for reaſons beſt known to himſelf) made his ſecond landing in the bay of St. Lunar, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, againſt which he ſeemed determined to hazard an attempt; though the town was now in a better ſtate of defence than when an attack had been judged impracticable by the duke of Marlborough, and the number of the aſſailants much fewer!—General Bligh, accordingly, ſoon diſcovered his miſtake. The deſign upon St. Malo was laid aſide; but it was reſolved to penetrate

penetrate into the country, and do ſomething for the honour of the Britiſh arms, before the troops were put on board the tranſports.

In conformity with this reſolution, the fleet, which could not ride with ſafety in the bay of St. Lunar, quitted that ſtation, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward; while the land-forces proceeded, by Guildo, to the village of Matignon, where they diſperſed a ſmall body of French troops, and encamped within three miles of the tranſports, in order to prevent their retreat being cut off. Here the Britiſh commanders were informed, that the duke d'Aguillon, governor of Brittany, had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of their camp, at the head of twelve battalions and ſix ſquadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. A retreat was immediately judged neceſſary; but the meaſures for carrying it into execution were ſlow and injudicious. Inſtead of decamping in the night without noiſe, by which they might probably have reached the ſhore before the French had the leaſt intelligence of their army being in motion, the drums were beat at two two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who inſtantly repeated the ſame ſignal; and, although the march was begun ſoon after, ſo many were the obſtructions, that they did not reach the bay of St. Cas till nine o'clock. Six hours were ſpent in marching three miles; yet might the embarkation have been effected without loſs, if it had been properly conducted. But in this, as in every thing elſe, the greateſt blunders were committed.

The Engliſh commanders, filled with deluſive confidence, ſeem to have flattered themſelves that no Frenchman durſt look an Engliſhman in the face. Hence, from the moment they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they appear to have been under the influence of fear or infatuation; like all men who have over-rated their own courage, or undervalued that of an antagoniſt. All the troops, however, were embarked before the French began to preſs hard upon them,

them, except the grenadiers and the firſt regiment of foot-guards, who had the honour of remaining longeſt on hoſtile ground. This gallant body, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, attempted to form and face the greatly ſuperior enemy. But their reſolution failed them: they fell into confuſion: they fled; and ruſhed into the ſea, or were ſlaughtered on the beach. Of thoſe who took refuge in the waves, a conſiderable number were ſaved by the boats of the fleet, and about four hundred of the fugitives were made priſoners. Among the killed and drowned were general Drury and Sir John Armitage, with many other gentlemen of rank and fortune, who had acted as volunteers:—and with them periſhed near a thouſand of the fineſt troops in Chriſtendom [30].

Such was the unfortunate iſſue of our ill-concerted expeditions to the coaſt of France, which involved the nation in an enormous expence, without being attended with any adequate advantage [31]. They contributed, however, for a time, to rouſe the ſpirit of the people, and to encourage the paſſion for enterpriſe; but as neither their ſucceſs nor their objects correſponded with the hopes which ſuch vaſt preparations raiſed, they had finally a contrary effect. The people, though ſubject to deluſion, are not utterly blind. They ſaw the diſproportion between means and ends, between great armaments and petty aims. And the diſaſter at St. Cas, which was the more keenly felt as it was altogether unexpected, and immediately followed the rejoicings for the taking of Cherburg, diſſipated all our romantic ideas of acquiring conqueſt in France, or annihilating the French navy by deſtroying their principal ſea-ports; while it exalted beyond meaſure the ſpirit of that volatile nation, which had been depreſſed and mortified by the inſulting deſcents made upon their coaſts with impunity. They now magnified into a

30. Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1758.

31. "Could we have burnt the enemy's docks, ſtores, &c. at Breſt and "Rochfort," ſays general Lloyd, "it would have been a ſervice of great importance, and worth trying; but no other object was by any means equal "to the riſk or the expence." *Hiſt. of the War in Germany*, vol. ii. p 180.

mighty

mighty victory their accidental good fortune in cutting off the rear-guard of a misguided party of desultory invaders.

But whatever consolation France might derive from the check which had been given to the ravagers of her coasts, the solid advantages acquired by the English in other quarters of the globe, afforded them abundant cause of triumph, exclusive of such fugitive conquests. In North America, whence we had hitherto received only accounts of delay, disaster, and disgrace, our affairs had taken a new and highly favourable turn.

As lord Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfactions in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie; but the plan of operations being extensive, the forces were divided into three separate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand men, under major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisburg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes, were ordered to attack Fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Cape Breton being an object of prime concern, it was undertaken with all possible dispatch. The army under general Amherst, augmented with two thousand fresh troops from England, embarked at Halifax, on the 24th of May, and on the second of June, the fleet and transports, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, under the direction of admiral Boscawen, arrived before Louisburg. The garrison of the place, commanded by the chevalier de Drucourt, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and about six hundred militia. The harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the bason. It was therefore necessary to disembark the troops at some distance from the town. The place chosen for that purpose was the creek of Cormoran; and as soon as the landing,

landing, which was attended with some difficulty but little loss, was fully effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, the town was formally invested [32].

The first thing attempted by the besiegers, was to secure a post called the *Light-house Battery*. That service was performed by general Wolfe, with all the vigour and celerity for which he was so much distinguished. On this elevated point were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the opposite side of the harbour. For six weeks, however, did the place hold out, and the French ships continue to fire upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their operation. At length, on the 21st of July, one of the great ships blew up, and the flames being communicated to two others, they also shared the same fate.

As the enemy, notwithstanding this misfortune still refused to surrender, the English admiral (who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land-forces) sent into the harbour a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, headed by the captains Laforey and Balfour. They boarded the two remaining ships of the line, which still kept possession of the bason; destroyed one, which was aground, and towed off the other in triumph. The blow was decisive. The governor fearing a general assault, as several practicable breaches were made in the works, surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war: and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty [33]. With Cape Breton fell also the island of St. John, and whatever inferior stations the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the Gulf of St. Laurence.

The reduction of Louisburg was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the loss of so considerable a naval force, and occasioned the greatest rejoicings

32. Lond. *Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1758. Knox's *Campaigns in North America*, vol. i.

33. Id. ibid.

in England. But all our enterprifes in America were not equally fortunate.

General Abercrombie, in confequence of his defign of driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had embarked upon Lake George, on the fifth of July, with near fixteen thoufand men, and a numerous train of artillery; and, after a profperous navigation, landed his troops without oppofition, and advanced in four columns toward the firft object of his armament. As the country through which his march lay is rough and woody, and his guides were very unfkilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While in this diforder, they fell in with a French detachment, which had fled on their approach, being bewildered in like manner. A fkirmifh enfued, in which the enemy were quickly routed, with the lofs of near three hundred men. But that advantage was unfortunately purchafed with the death of the gallant lord Howe; a young nobleman of the moft promifing military talents, who had acquired the efteem and affection of the troops by his generofity, affability, and engaging manners, as well as by his diftinguifhed valour.

This difafter excepted, the Englifh army proceeded fuccefsfully till it reached Ticonderoga; which is fituated on a point of land between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. On three fides furrounded with water, and on the fourth fecured by a morafs, that important poft was ftrongly fortified, and defended by near five thoufand men. Thefe were ftationed under the cannon of the place, behind an abattis, or breaftwork, formed of the trunks of trees piled one upon another. And they were farther defended by whole trees, with their branches outward, fome of which were cut and fharpened, fo as to anfwer the purpofe of chevaux-de-frize.

Notwithftanding this ftrong pofition, which had not been properly reconnoitred, it was rafhly refolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the arrival of the artillery. A

difpofition

disposition was accordingly made for the purpose, and the whole English army put in motion. The troops advanced to the assault with the greatest alacrity; but all their most vigorous efforts proved ineffectual. In vain did they attempt to cut their way through every obstacle. They could make no impression upon the enemy's works. The general, therefore, found it necessary to order a retreat, as the only means of saving the remains of his army, after it had been exposed for four hours to the covered fire of the French musquetry. Near two thousand men, including a great number of officers, were killed or dangerously wounded [34].

In order to repair the disgrace of this bloody repulse, general Abercrombie (who had immediately retired to his former camp on the southern side of Lake George) detached colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men against Fort Frontenac. The colonel, who with great prudence and valour surmounted every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprise by the 25th of August.

Fort Frontenac stands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Lawrence, the entrance into which it in some measure commands. For a post of such moment, however, it was poorly fortified, and feebly garrisoned. It surrendered at discretion, on the appearance of the English commander, who found there an immense quantity of provisions and merchandise, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops [35].

The success of colonel Bradstreet, in all probability, facilitated the expedition, under general Forbes, against Fort du Quesne. This officer began his march from Philadelphia, in the beginning of July, at the head of eight thousand men, through a vast tract of country very little known, and almost impenetrable, by reason of woods, mountains, and

34. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. Lond. *Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1758.

35. Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1758.

 morasses,

morasses. He made his way, however, by the most incredible exertions of vigour and perseverance; procured provisions, secured camps, and surmounted every other difficulty in his tedious progress, though continually harrassed by parties of hostile Indians.

Having advanced with the main body of his army as far as Ray's Town, distant about fourscore miles from Fort du Quesne, general Forbes detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the place. Unfortunately the major's approach was discovered by the enemy, who sent a more numerous body of troops against him. A desperate combat ensued, which was gallantly maintained by the British detachment for more than three hours; but being at length overpowered by superior force, it was obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or made prisoners, and among the latter was major Grant, with nineteen other officers.

This severe check, so fatal to the reconnoitring party, did not prevent general Forbes from advancing with the main body of his army, though ignorant of the enemy's numbers. Regardless of danger, he only longed for an opportunity of retaliation. The French, however, dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the disputed post, on the twenty-fourth of November. They retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi [36]. The British standard was erected on Fort du Quesne, which had been the cause of so general and so destructive a war; and the name of Fort Pitt was given to it, in honour of the minister under whose auspices the expedition had been undertaken.

Nor were the conquests of Great Britain confined solely to North America. Two ships of the line, with some frigates and a body of marines, had been dispatched early in the season, in order to reduce the French settlements on the

36. Lond. *Gazette*, Jan. 20, 1759.

coast

coast of Africa. They accordingly entered the river Senegal; and in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of the line could not pass, they obliged Fort Louis, which commands the navigation of the Senegal, to surrender, and, with it, all the French settlements on that river [37].

But this squadron being found insufficient to reduce the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was afterward sent upon that service, with four ships of the line, several frigates, and seven hundred regular troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Worge. The great ships laid their broadsides to the principal batteries, and maintained so strong a fire, that the place surrendered at discretion, before the troops were landed [38]. M. St. Jean, the French governor, behaved with true courage, but was ill supported by his garrison. Dec. 19.

The British arms were less successful during this campaign in the East Indies. Though admiral Pococke, who had succeeded, in consequence of the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel, had worsted, in two obstinate engagements, the French squadron under M. d'Aché, he was not able to prevent the loss of Cudalore and Fort St. David. These two places were reduced by the count de Lally; who having been appointed governor-general of all the French possessions in India, had carried out with him a great force to Pondicherry. He was gallantly assisted in his military operations by the count d'Estaign, and flattered himself with nothing less than the conquest of all the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

Such, my dear Philip, was the state of the war in all parts of the world, at the close of the year 1758. Many checks had been given, many victories obtained, and many conquests

37. Lond. *Gazette*, June 10, 1758. 38. Lond. *Gazette*, Jan. 29. 1759.

made; but these were not all on one side. The success was divided. All parties had cause of hope, or room for consolation; and, in consequence of this situation of affairs, all parties prepared for opening the ensuing campaign with equal vigour, though the state of their finances was very different. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy of four millions of dollars to the king of Prussia. Those of Austria were much exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet were the efforts of both undiminished. The empress of Russia, having lost only men, readily supplied by her boundless dominions, adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies: and Sweden made no advances toward peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe.

Germany however continued, as hitherto, to be the grand theatre of military operations, though less of conquest or bold enterprise. These found elsewhere a wider range. Repeated trials of each other's strength had here made all parties more cautious; because all were become sensible, that the war could only be brought to a successful issue by patience and perseverance, not by any single blow. The greatest blows had been already struck, yet peace seemed as distant as ever; though, in striking some of those blows, ruin itself had been hazarded by the illustrious Frederick. Less dependence was henceforth placed in fortune, and more in force and skill. Experience had moderated the ardour of courage, and rectified the mistaken conceptions of military superiority. Firmness and recollection took place of presumption and rashness; and mutual esteem and apprehensions of danger, of self-confidence and mutual contempt.

The fire of the king of Prussia's genius alone seemed unabated. We have seen in what manner he obliged the Austrians and the Army of the Empire to evacuate Saxony, at the close of last campaign, while his generals forced the Russians and Swedes to retire toward their own frontiers.

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He began the prefent with equal vigour and fuccefs: and he had formed a great fyftem of operations, in concert with prince Ferdinand of Brunfwick. A. D. 1759. One of his generals, in the month of February, deftroyed the Ruffian magazines in Poland; another recovered Anclam, Demin, and all the places the Swedes had conquered in Pomerania. He himfelf, by his threatening motions, drew the Auftrian army to the frontiers of Silefia. His brother, prince Henry, who had wintered in Saxony, feized that opportunity to lay Bohemia under contribution; and afterward, entering Franconia, pufhed the Army of the Empire as far back as Nuremburg.

To this degree were the arms of the king of Pruffia fuccefsful. But certain unforefeen events, partly depending upon himfelf, partly upon others, difconcerted all his future plans, and gave a fatal reverfe to his affairs. The Ruffians advanced toward Silefia, notwithftanding the deftruction of their magazines. And prince Ferdinand, although early reinforced with a choice body of Britifh troops, found himfelf unable to prevent the Army of the Empire from receiving fuccours from that of France; a circumftance on which the fuccefs of the campaign greatly depended, and on which his Pruffian majefty had prefumed, though certainly without due confideration.

The French, by a flagrant violation of the liberties of the empire, accompanied with an act of perfidy, had made themfelves mafters of Frankfort upon the Maine, a neutral and free city, in the beginning of January. This was an important acquifition, as it fecured to them the courfe of the Maine and the Upper Rhine, by which they could readily receive every kind of fupply. It was therefore determined to diflodge them, if poffible, as foon as the feafon would permit the allied army to take the field.

With this view, prince Ferdinand affembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda, and began his march toward the enemy at the head of thirty thoufand men; having

left the reſt of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the biſhopric of Munſter. He found April 10. the French army, under the duke de Broglio, ſtrongly poſted near the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau, yet did he reſolve to attack them. He accordingly drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But after three deſperate efforts to get poſſeſſion of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of two thouſand men [39]. He preſerved, however, ſo good a countenance that the enemy did not attempt to purſue him.

The allies perhaps loſt no honour by this action. But they failed in their object; and that failure, beſide thwarting the deſigns of the king of Pruſſia, reduced themſelves to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions. Meanwhile the French enjoyed plenty of every thing. And their armies on June 3. the Upper and Lower Rhine having formed a junction near Marpurg, proceeded northward, under the mareſchal de Contades, who fixed his head-quarters at Corbach, whence he detached a body of light troops to take poſſeſſion of Caſſel.

Finding himſelf inferior to the united forces of the enemy, prince Ferdinand judged it prudent to retire as they advanced. He left ſtrong garriſons, however, in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden, in order to retard the progreſs of the French generals. But this precaution proved ineffectual. Retberg was ſurpriſed by the duke de Broglio. He alſo took Minden by aſſault; and Munſter, though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, was reduced, after a ſhort ſiege.

It now appeared impoſſible to prevent the French from making themſelves a ſecond time maſters of his Britannic majeſty's German dominions. Conſidering the conqueſt of Hanover as certain, the court of Verſailles was only occupied in contriving expedients for ſecuring it; and the regen-

39. French and Engliſh *Gazettes* compared.

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cy of that electorate, willing to provide against the consequences of such a probable event, again sent their archives and most valuable effects to Stade. All things seemed hastening to the same situation, which brought on the humiliating convention of Closter-seven; especially as prince Ferdinand continued to retire, and studiously kept up his communication with the Weser.

But that accomplished general, though weakened by his losses, was not disconcerted. He saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. Although naturally cautious, he resolved, under the pressure of necessity, to pursue a bold line of conduct, instead of taking refuge in despair, or seeking an apology for misfortune in the gloom of public despondency. The moment he found nothing but a battle could hinder the French from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover, he determined to bring matters to that issue. And the means by which he accomplished his design with an inferior army, without exposing himself to any disaster, discovered so profound a genius for war, as will ever make him be ranked among the greatest masters of the military art.

The main body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, to which its right wing extended. On the left was a steep hill, in the front a morass, and a rivulet covered the rear. As nothing could be more advantageous than this position, which rendered an attack impracticable, prince Ferdinand employed all his skill to draw the enemy from it. With that view he quitted his camp on the Weser, and marched to Hille; leaving, however, general Wangenheim, with a body of troops, entrenched at Thornhausen, on the banks of the disputed river: and detaching the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with six thousand men, to make a compass toward the enemy's left flank, and cut off their communication with Paderborn.

The French generals, who were not inattentive to these

movements, fell into the ſnare that was laid for them. They concluded, that the opportunity which they had ſo long ſought, of cutting off prince Ferdinand's communication with the Weſer, was at laſt found, and with it the conſummation of their wiſhes. They ſaw, as they imagined, the allied army divided and disjoined beyond the poſſibility of immediate union; and therefore flattered themſelves with its final deſtruction, by the defeat of general Wangenheim, and the command of the Weſer, the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch defeat. Full of this idea, they left their advantageous poſt; and paſſing the moraſs in their front, advanced into the plain.

The duke de Broglio, who led the van of the French army, proceeded with great confidence, until he reached a neighbouring eminence; whence he beheld, inſtead of entrenchments defended by a ſmall body, the whole army of the allies diſpoſed in excellent order, and extending from the banks of the Weſer almoſt to Minden. A diſcovery ſo unexpected embarraſſed the French general. But he had no alternative left: it was too late to recede. He therefore ordered his cavalry to advance, and begin the engagement.

Aug. 1.

The Britiſh infantry, which, with two battalions of Hanoverian guards, compoſed the centre of the allied army, ſuſtained the principal ſhock of the battle, and broke every body of horſe and foot that advanced againſt them; whilſt the Heſſian cavalry, with ſome regiments of Pruſſian and Hanoverian dragoons, poſted on the left, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, and puſhed them to the neceſſity of ſeeking ſafety in flight [40].

At this inſtant, prince Ferdinand ſent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe, which compoſed the right wing of the allies, to advance to the

40. London and Paris *Gazettes*, paſſim. The French account of this battle, and of the operations that preceded it, is by far the moſt perfect.

the charge. And if these orders had been chearfully obeyed, the battle of Minden would probably have been as memorable and decisive as that of Blenheim. The French army would have been utterly destroyed, or totally routed and driven out of Germany. But whatever was the cause, whether the orders were not sufficiently precise, were misinterpreted, or imperfectly undestood, the British cavalry did not arrive in time to have any share in the engagement [41]; so that the French, instead of being hotly pursued, were permitted to retire in good order, and to regain their former position, notwithstanding the loss of seven thousand men. They judged it necessary, however, to quit their camp, and pass the Weser the same night; and next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion. The allies lost in the action near two thousand brave troops.

Prince Ferdinand passed an indirect censure upon the British commander for his conduct on this occasion, and a court martial confirmed that censure. But as the whole weight of ministerial influence is supposed to have been thrown into the scale of the German general, the impartial part of mankind are still divided in their opinion on the subject, and will, likely, long remain so. It may not, however, be improper to observe, for the information of posterity, That the two generals were by no means on good terms with each other, before the battle. Prince Ferdinand, who understood the *mystery*, as well as the *art* of war, and pursued it as a *lucrative trade*, felt himself uneasy under the eye of an observer so keen and penetrating as lord George Sackville, and wished to remove him from the command. This wish perhaps occasioned that confusion, or contradiction of orders, of which the English general complained, and which he assigned as the cause of his inaction. But there is also reason to suppose, the chagrin of the British commander might make his perception, on that occasion, less clear than usual, and that

41. Evidence produced on the trial of lord George Sackville.

he might even secretly indulge a desire to obscure the glory of a hated rival, without reflecting that, in so doing, he was sacrificing his duty to his sovereign, and eventually the interests of his country [42].

42. See prince Ferdinand's *Letter* to the king of Great Britain, and Lord George Sackville's *Vindication* of his conduct.

LETTER XXXIV.

The View of the State of EUROPE, *and the History of the General War, pursued, from the Defeat of the* FRENCH *at* MINDEN, *to the Death of* GEORGE II.

THE victory gained by the allies at Minden, though less complete than it migh thave been rendered by the ready co-operation of the British general, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion, and blasted all their hopes of conquest. It not only enabled prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster, and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. And if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, in order to support the king of Prussia, whose affairs were much embarrassed, he would probably have driven the vain-glorious enemy to the other side of the Rhine, before the close of the campaign.

The embarrassment of his Prussian majesty was chiefly occasioned by the approach of the Russians, in spite of every effort to obstruct their progress. Displeased with the studied caution of count Dohna, the king conferred the command of the army destined to oppose them on general Wedel, who immediately gave them battle, conformable to his orders. He attacked them with great vigour, but without effect, at

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Kay, near Zullichan, in Silefia, on the twenty-third day of July. The Pruffians were repulfed with much lofs, after an obftinate engagement, and the Ruffians made themfelves mafters of Frankfort on the Oder.

No fooner was the king of Pruffia informed of that misfortune, than he refolved to oppofe the Ruffians in perfon; and began his march with ten thoufand of his beft troops, to join the fhattered army under Wedel; leaving his brother Henry to obferve the motions of the Auftrians on the frontiers of Lufatia. Meanwhile marefchal Daun, apprifed of the king's intention, detached general Laudohn, with twelve thoufand horfe, to give vigour and ftability to the Ruffian army, which was deficient in cavalry.

The reinforcement arrived nearly at the fame time that his Pruffian majefty joined Wedel. And Laudohn and count Soltikow, the Ruffian general, took poft at the village of Cunnerfdorff, oppofite Frankfort. The combined army confifted of about one hundred thoufand combatants: their pofition was naturally ftrong; and they farther fecured their camp by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. The king of Pruffia's forces, after all the reinforcements he could collect, fell below fifty thoufand men; yet did his preffing circumftances, and his own fanguine fpirit, inflamed by hoftile paffion, induce him to hazard an attack.

The previous difpofitions for that purpofe being made, the action began about eleven o'clock, and the Ruffian entrenchments were forced with great flaughter. Aug. 12. Several redoubts, which covered the village of Cunnerfdorff, alfo were maftered, and the Pruffians advanced to the village itfelf. Here the battle was renewed, and raged with frefh fury for two hours. At length the poft was carried; the enemy's artillery was taken; and every thing feemed to promife a complete victory. But the Ruffians, though broken, were not difcouraged. They again formed under cover of the Auftrian cavalry, and took poffeffion of an eminence,

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called the *Jews' Burying Ground*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last man.

Prudence, and past experience of the steady valour of the Russians, ought to have taught his Prussian majesty to rest satisfied with the advantage he had gained: but he could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. The ardour of his mind determined him to follow his blow, in hopes of crowning at once his glory and his vengeance, by the final destruction of a barbarous enemy, who had dared to enter within the line of his ambition; and whose cruel ravages had so often drawn him from the pursuit of victory, or obstructed the career of conquest. He accordingly led on, to a new attack, his brave battalions, yet faint from recent toil, beneath the heat of a burning sun, and sore with many a wound. He led them against the main body of the Russian army, the greater part of which had not hitherto been engaged, posted on higher ground, and strongly defended by artillery. They were unequal to the difficult service: they fell back; they were again brought to the charge, and a second time repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this disappointment, the king put himself at the head of his cavalry; but their vigour also was spent. In vain did he attempt to break the Russians (who are possessed of uncommon bodily strength, and an instinctive or mechanical courage, which makes them inaccessible to fear): they baffled all his gallant efforts. Their fire was the mouth of a volcano, and their bayonets a hedge of spears. The Prussians, wasted with fatigue, and startled at the number of the slain, blamed the perseverance of their prince, but still maintained the unequal combat.

In those awful moments, when the finest troops in the world were wavering, and the greatest modern of commanders could with difficulty encourage them to keep their ground, the Austrian cavalry, yet fresh, broke in upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent. The Russian horse followed the animating example, and the foot resumed their activity. The exhausted Prussians yielded to the irresistible shock: they

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were ſeized with a panic; they fled. The king rallied them: he brought them back to the charge; he ſet them an example of bravery in his own perſon. Three times did he renew the engagement in the front line. He had two horſes ſhot under him, and many bullets had paſſed through his cloaths. But all his intrepid exertions were ineffectual: the battle was irretrievably loſt, and the approach of night only prevented the Pruſſian army from being utterly cut off. As the ſtruggle terminated, the ſlaughter on both ſides was awfully great. Near thirty thouſand men lay dead on the field, or dying of their wounds: and ſixteen thouſand of theſe were Pruſſians [1].

The iſſue of this battle aſtoniſhed all Europe; and occaſioned the moſt extravagant exultation among the hoſtile powers on one ſide, and the greateſt depreſſion of mind on the other. When the king of Pruſſia got poſſeſſion of the village of Cunnerſdorff, he wrote, in the triumph of his heart, a congratulatory billet to his queen, without waiting for the final event: "We have driven the Ruſſians "from their entrenchments. Expect within two hours, to "hear of a glorious victory!"—And as this billet arrived at Berlin juſt as the poſt was going out, the premature intelligence reached the courts of London and Verſailles before the news of the king's diſaſter, alſo firſt conveyed in another laconic diſpatch to the queen: "Remove from Berlin "with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to "Potſdam. The town may make conditions with the "enemy [2]."

But if his Pruſſian majeſty ſubjected himſelf to ſome degree of ridicule as a man, and blame as a commander, by his defeat at Cunnerſdorff, his ſubſequent conduct wiped all off. And the ſurpriſe of mankind, at his ſudden and unexpected reverſe of fortune, was ſoon loſt in their admiration of the

1. Compared *Relations* of the battle of Cunnerſdorff, publiſhed by authority at Berlin and Vienna.

2. Foreign *Gazettes*, paſſim.

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wonderful reſources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his ſpirit. The day after the battle, he repaſſed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; whence he moved to Fuſtenwalde, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the Ruſſians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. He even watched their motions ſo aſſiduouſly, that the main body of their army, under the victorious Soltikow, inſtead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Luſatia. There he joined the grand Auſtrian army, under mareſchal Daun; and the two generals held conſultations concerning their future operations.

In the mean time the king of Pruſſia, having refreſhed and recruited his broken and exhauſted troops, and ſupplied the loſs of his artillery (which had all fallen into the hands of the enemy) from the arſenal at Berlin, appeared again formidable. While his friends as well as his enemies were of opinion, that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they choſe firſt to ſubdue as a prelude to the conqueſt of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defenſive. And he at the ſame time detached a body of ſix thouſand men, under general Wunch, to the relief of Saxony; where the Army of the Empire had made great progreſs, during his abſence. Hall, Wittemberg, Leipſic, Torgau, and even Dreſden itſelf, had ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. But the detachment under Wunch retook Leipſic on the 21ſt of September; and having joined general Finck who commanded in Saxony, the Pruſſian generals repulſed the Army of the Empire at Corbitz, though ſupported by a body of Auſtrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dreſden.

Sept. 21.

Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, and ſeeing that he could not ſecond the operations of the king on the ſide of Sileſia, prince Henry quitted his camp at Hornſdorff near Gorlitz, in Luſatia, and marched with incredible celerity into Saxony, where he joined the Pruſſian parties under Finck and Wunch.

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This rapid march obliged mareſchal Daun alſo to quit his camp in Luſatia, and ſeparate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dreſden. And the Pruſſian monarch, thus freed from the preſence of his moſt dangerous enemy, having put himſelf between the Ruſſians and Great Glogaw, obliged them to relinquiſh an enterpriſe which they had formed againſt that place, and return into Poland.

Fortune, in a word, ſeemed yet to be preparing triumphs for the intrepid Frederick, after all his diſaſters; and if he had placed leſs confidence in her flattering promiſes, which he had ſo frequently found to be deluſive, he might have cloſed the campaign with equal glory and ſucceſs. But his enterpriſing ſpirit induced him once more to truſt the deceiver, and attempt a great line of action, while prudence, reaſon, experience, and even ſelf-preſervation, dictated a ſure one.

No ſooner did his Pruſſian majeſty find himſelf diſengaged, in conſequence of the retreat of the Ruſſians, than he marched into Saxony; and there joined his brother Henry near Torgau, on the 2d of November, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Auſtrian generals. On this junction, the Army of the Empire retired. Mareſchal Daun, who had threatened prince Henry, fell back upon Dreſden. And the king of Pruſſia ſaw himſelf, once more, at the head of a gallant army of ſixty thouſand men, in high ſpirits, and ſtill ready to execute any bold enterpriſe, under the eye of their ſovereign and commander, ſo lately reduced to the brink of deſpair. But as the ſeaſon was already far in the decline, and remarkably ſevere, his moſt able generals were of opinion, that no important enterpriſe could be undertaken with any probability of ſucceſs, and that his wiſeſt conduct would be to watch the motions of the Auſtrians, and cut off the proviſions of mareſchal Daun; who muſt, by theſe means, infallibly be obliged to abandon Dreſden, and retire into Bohemia, leaving to the Pruſſians, as hitherto, the entire poſſeſſion of Saxony.

The king's views, however, extended to greater and more deciſive

decisive advantages. He knew that the passes into Bohemia were so difficult, that, by seizing certain posts, the subsistence of the Austrians might not only be cut off, but their retreat rendered impracticable. Having obliged mareschal Daun to retreat as far as Plawen, and advanced himself to Kessel-dorf, he accordingly ordered general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff, through which alone he thought it possible for the enemy to communicate with Bohemia. This service was successfully executed; and no doubt was entertained that mareschal Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle, or to surrender at discretion, as he seemed now to have no resource left but in victory.

Meanwhile that sagacious general, sensible of his danger, sent experienced officers to reconnoitre the position of the Prussian detachment; and finding the commander lulled into the most fatal security, he took possession of the neighbouring eminences, and surrounding the enemy on all sides, precluded the possibility of escape. The Prussians defended themselves gallantly for one day, and made several vigorous efforts to disentangle themselves from the net in which they were caught, but in vain: they were foiled in every attempt to force those defiles which they had been appointed to guard. Night put an end to the struggle, and to the effusion of blood. Next morning general Finck, seeing his Nov. 16. situation desperate, as every avenue through which a retreat could be made was planted with bayonets, judged it more prudent to submit to necessity, than wantonly to throw away the lives of so many brave men, who might serve their king on some more promising occasion. He therefore endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms. They were sternly denied him. And he was ultimately forced to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of November; he himself with eight other generals, and near twenty thousand men, being made prisoners of war [3].

3. Compared *Relations*, ubi sup.

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This was a mortifying blow to the hopes of the Pruſſian monarch, and muſt have made him ſeverely ſenſible of his too common error, in placing all his attention on the poſſible advantage, and overlooking the probable danger. Nor did that evil come alone. He ſuſtained another heavy ſtroke in the capture and deſtruction of a rear guard, conſiſting of three thouſand men, under general Diercke. Yet, after all theſe loſſes, he was ſtill ſo formidable, that the cautious and moderate-minded Daun, inſtead of attacking him, took ſhelter in the ſtrong camp of Pirna, and kept cloſe within his entrenchments.

His Pruſſian majeſty ſeemed alſo, at laſt, to have acquired a leſſon of moderation. Though joined by twelve thouſand men, under the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, he put his army quietly into winter-quarters at Freyberg, without attempting any new enterpriſe; ſo that, the loſs of men excepted, affairs in Germany were nearly in the ſame ſituation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been deſolated, and much blood ſpilt; but Dreſden was the only place of any importance that had changed maſters.

In ſpite of all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. Pitt, ſo many indeciſive campaigns began to cool the zeal of the Engliſh nation in the cauſe of their illuſtrious but burdenſome ally, the king of Pruſſia, to whoſe wars they could ſee no end. And the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in America and the Weſt Indies opened the eyes of the people more fully to their true intereſts, and made them ſenſible of the folly of defending the electorate of Hanover at ſuch a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure.

Immediately after the taking of Louiſburg, which had long been conſidered as the key of Canada, a plan was formed by the Britiſh miniſtry for the reduction of Quebec, and the entire conqueſt of New France, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of action, in thoſe northern latitudes, ſhould return. In the meantime an expedition was undertaken againſt the iſland of Martinico, the chief ſeat of the French government in the

West Indies; a place of great importance by its position, and also by its produce.

It was known that Martinico, and all the sugar-islands belonging to France in the American archipelago, were in great distress for want of provisions and other necessaries; which it was not in her power to provide them with, by reason of the inferiority of her navy to that of England, and consequently her inability to protect her trade with them. It was therefore supposed they could make but a feeble resistance, and would surrender on the first summons.

The armament destined for that service consisted of ten ships of the line under commodore More, and five thousand land-forces, commanded by general Hopson. The design upon Martinico, however, was abandoned as impracticable, after a slight attempt; though seemingly with little reason, as the French governor possessed neither courage nor conduct, and the distressed inhabitants appeared willing, it was said, to submit to a power that could more readily supply their wants, and afford them a better and more certain market for their produce. But be the prospect of resistance small or great, it is certain that the British troops were re-imbarked within twenty-four hours after their landing, and that the armament directed its course toward the island of Guadaloupe [4]; a less splendid object of conquest, though not a less valuable possession.

The British fleet appeared before the town of Basse Terre, the capital of the island, on the twenty-third of January; and next day it was taken, after a terrible cannonade, accompanied with incessant showers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the English navy exert themselves with more intrepidity and judgment than on this occasion. They left the land-forces nothing to do but take possession of the place, which was abandoned by the garrison [5].

4. Lond. *Gazette*, March 7, 1759. See also Capt. Gardner's *Account of the Expedition* against Martinico and Guadaloupe.

5. Id. ibid.

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The reduction of the town of Baſſe Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the conqueſt of Guadaloupe. The ſlowneſs, timidity, and irreſolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garriſon leiſure for recollection; and to fortify themſelves, by the help of the inhabitants, in a ſtrong poſt which obſtructed all communication with the more fertile parts of the iſland. Deſpairing therefore of being able to ſubject Guadaloupe on that ſide, the invaders proceeded to attack it on another, known by the name of Grande Terre. Fort Lewis, the chief defence of this diviſion of the iſland (which is ſeparated from the other by a ſhallow ſtrait), was taken ſword in hand, by the marines and Royal Highlanders, after a ſhort but vigorous cannonade from the fleet [6].

But the conquerors were guilty of the ſame error as formerly. They did not take advantage of the enemy's terror: and they ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies from their neglect. The fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they became formidable; and the event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington, having ſucceded to the command of the land-forces, in conſequence of the death of Hopſon, changed the plan of operations. Inſtead of attempting to penetrate into the country, which abounds with ſtrong poſts and dangerous defiles, he reimbarked the troops, and ſucceſſively attacked the towns and villages upon the coaſt. By this mode of making war, every conſiderable place was ſoon reduced; and the governor and inhabitants, tired of their uncomfortable ſituation in the mountains, and ſeeing no proſpect of relief, ſurrendered the iſland to his Britannic majeſty. Mariagalante, and ſome other ſmall iſlands in the neighbourhood, alſo ſubmitted. And the inhabitants obtained the ſame terms with thoſe of Guadaloupe; namely, the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their private pro-

6. Capt. Gardner, ubi ſup.

perty, and the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges [7].

This moderation was equally generous and political, and may be ſuppoſed to have had a ſerious influence upon the minds of the French coloniſts, even in North America; where the campaign was not yet begun, and where the plan of operations was as extenſive as their objects were great. It was concerted to attack the French at all their ſtrong holds at once;—That general Wolfe, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Louiſburg, ſhould proceed up the river St. Lawrence with a body of eight thouſand men, and a ſtout fleet from England, and beſiege the city of Quebec; that general Amherſt, now commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in North America, ſhould, with an army of twelve thouſand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point; croſs Lake Champlain; and proceeding by the way of Richelieu River to the banks of the St. Lawrence, join general Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced by a body of provincials and friendly Indians, under Sir William Johnſon, ſhould inveſt the important fortreſs of Niagara, which in a manner commands the interior parts of the northern diviſion of the New World. It was farther propoſed, That the troops under brigadier Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, ſhould embark on Lake Ontario; fall down the river St. Lawrence; beſiege and take Montreal; and then join or co-operate with the combined army, under Amherſt and Wolfe.

A bolder ſyſtem of war, it is owned, was never framed; but many doubts have been ſtarted in regard to its natural practicability, founded on the ſtrength of the places to be attacked, the extent of the operations, and the diſpoſition of the French forces. The marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of

7. Lond. *Gazette,* June 14, 1759.

New

New France, lay in the neighbourhood of Montreal, with a body of five thousand veteran troops; while the marquis de Montcalm, his lieutenant-general, whose reputation was already high in the military world, took the field with an army of ten thousand Europeans and Canadians, for the defence of the capital; and M. de Levi, an active officer, was at the head of a flying detachment, which, as well as the army under Montcalm, was strengthened by a large body of trained Indians, intimately acquainted with all the woods and defiles. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; Ticonderoga and Crown Point were in a respectable condition; and the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it. All these obstacles however were surmounted, though not immediately, by a happy mixture of conduct and valour; the wonderful effects of which ignorant and credulous men ascribe to supernatural influence, and dull and timid men to chance.

The army under Amherst, by the progress of which the operations of the other two were supposed to be in some measure governed, was early in motion. But the season was far advanced before the general could pass Lake George. He thence proceeded, with little opposition from the enemy, to Ticonderoga, so fatal to the British troops in the former campaign. The French seemed at first determined to defend the fort. But perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having beside orders to retreat from place to place toward the centre of operations, rather than run the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the works in the night, and retired to Crown Point. July 7.

To Crown Point Amherst advanced, after repairing the fortifications of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had damaged. But, before his arrival, the garrison had retired to Isle aux Noix, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. There

the French had three thousand five hundred men, he was informed, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, with a numerous train of artillery, and that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels. With a sloop and a radeau, which he had built with all possible dispatch, he destroyed two of the enemy's vessels. But the declining season obliged him to postpone farther operations, and return to Crown Point, where the troops were put into winter quarters about the end of October [8].

General Amherst now saw himself in a very aukward situation for a commander in chief. Though his success was great, he had found it impossible to attain the prime object of his enterprise; a junction with general Wolfe, which was considered as essential to the fortunate issue of the campaign. And what was yet more disagreeable, he had not, during the whole summer, obtained the least intelligence of the condition of that commander, on the operations of whose slender and unsupported army so much depended; a few obscure and alarming hints excepted, of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where he was in danger of being crushed by the whole force of Canada, under the marquis de Montcalm. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara. Having received an account of the progress of it before he left Ticonderoga, he had detached brigadier-general Gage, to assume the command of the troops in the room of general Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations against the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least molestation.

Meanwhile the command of that expedition devolved upon Sir William Johnson; who prosecuted with equal judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor. He pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, that the besiegers soon

8. *Letter* from General Amherst to Mr. Secretary Pitt, in Lond. *Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1759. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. ii.

brought

brought their approaches within an hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this interior key of their empire in America, the French collected a large body of regular troops, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, in order to raise the siege. With these, and a party of savages, they accordingly resolved to attempt the relief of the place, and put themselves in motion for that purpose. Apprised of their intention, general Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress. He posted the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, while he thus prepared himself for an engagement, he took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

The enemy appeared about nine o'clock in the morning, and the battle was begun with a horrid scream from the hostile Indians, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the *Warwhoop*, the most frightful sound which imagination can conceive, that struck a panic into the army under Braddock, and had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers. But having now lost its effect upon the British troops, it was heard with a contemptuous indifference. And the French regulars were so warmly received by the English grenadiers and light infantry, while their savages were encountered by other savages, that they were totally routed in less than an hour, and the place surrendered the same day[9]. July 24.

The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and consequently was a great step toward the conquest of both. But the reduction of Quebec was a still more important object; and if general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, it would have been attended with equal certainty, as a proportional force would have been employed to accomplish it.

9. Lond. *Gazette*, Sept 8, 1759. Knox, ubi sup.

As events happened, the issue of this grand enterprise seemed very doubtful. The land forces did not exceed seven thousand men. They were, however, in good health and spirits. Having been embarked at Louisburg, under convoy of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, they were safely landed, toward the end of June, on the isle of Orleans, formed by two branches of the river St. Lawrence, a few leagues below the city of Quebec. There the soldiers and sailors found every refreshment; and there general Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadier generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, published a spirited but somewhat romantic manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master, in making this hostile invasion, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the entire possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion, provided they took no part in the dispute for dominion between the crowns of France and England. He represented to them the folly of resistance, as all hopes of relief were cut off, while the British fleet commanded not only the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, but the empire of the sea; and he reminded them, that the cruelties, exercised by the French against the English subjects in America, would excuse the most severe retaliation. But Englishmen, he said, were too magnanimous to follow the barbarous example: and he concluded with extolling the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out to them a hand of humanity, when it was in her power to compel their obedience [10].

As that manifesto produced no immediate effect, Wolfe was under the necessity of considering the Canadians as enemies, and saw himself exposed to all the difficulties of a general commanding an army in a country where every thing is hostile to him. These difficulties, on examination, appeared so great, that, although naturally of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, he began to despair of success

10. Printed *Manifesto.*

before

before the commencement of operations. "I could not "flatter myself," says he, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt, "that I should be able to reduce the place." Nor is this to be wondered at.* Beside the natural and artificial strength of the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep rock on the northern bank of the river St. Lawrence, and farther defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula, Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war.

Resolving, however, to make every possible exertion before he abandoned the enterprise committed to him by his sovereign, and the event of which was already determined in the fond imaginations of his admiring countrymen, Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. But these batteries, by reason of their distance, made small impression upon the works, though they destroyed many houses, and greatly incommoded the inhabitants. The fleet could be of little use, as the elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond its reach, and even gave them a degree of command over it. The English general, therefore, became sensible of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect his batteries on the northern side of the river. But as this seemed a matter of infinite difficulty, his grand dilemma was, how to effect it?—Nor could all his penetration resolve the question.

The northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, for a considerable way above Quebec, is so bold and rocky, as to make it impracticable to land in the face of an enemy. Below the town, the French army was strongly encamped, between the rivers Montmorency and St. Charles. If the first river should be passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the second would present a new, and almost insuper-

able

able barrier againſt the victors. With all theſe obſtacles Wolfe was well acquainted; but he alſo knew, to uſe his own heroic language, "That a victorious army finds no "difficulties!" He therefore reſolved to paſs the river Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement.

In conſequence of this reſolution, part of the Britiſh army was landed at the mouth of that river, and the main body was ready to ford it higher up, when certain unpropitious circumſtances made it neceſſary to withdraw the troops, and relinquiſh the deſign. General Wolfe's original plan was, to attack firſt a detached redoubt cloſe to the water's edge, and apparently ſituated beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments. Should they attempt to ſupport that fortification, he doubted not of being able to bring on a general action; and if they remained tame ſpectators of its fall, he could afterward coolly examine their ſituation, and regulate accordingly his future operations. But obſerving the enemy in ſome confuſion, he raſhly changed his purpoſe; and liſtening only to the ardour of his courage, determined immediately to attack the French camp.

July 31.

With that view, orders were ſent to the generals Townſhend and Murray, to keep their diviſions in readineſs for fording the river. Meantime, thirteen companies of Engliſh grenadiers, and part of the ſecond battalion of Royal Americans, which had been firſt landed, and directed to form upon the beach, until they could be properly ſuſtained, ruſhed impetuouſly toward the enemy's entrenchments; as if, in their ungovernable fury, they could have borne down every thing before them. But they were met by ſo ſtrong and ſteady a fire from the French muſquetry, that they were inſtantly thrown into diſorder, and obliged to ſeek ſhelter in or behind the detached redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned on their approach [12]. There they continued for ſome

12. *Letter* from General Wolfe to Mr. Secretary Pitt, in London *Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1759.

time,

time, before they could repaſs the river, expoſed to a dreadful thunder-ſtorm, and a more terrible ſtorm of bullets, which proved fatal to many gallant officers, who fearleſsly expoſed their perſons, in attempting to form the troops. And inſtead of lamenting this early failure, though occaſioned by inexcuſable precipitancy, and attended with the loſs of near five hundred brave men, we ought rather to conſider it as a fortunate event; for if the whole Britiſh army had been led on to the attack, there is reaſon to believe, from the ſtrength of the French entrenchments, that the conſequences would have been more fatal [13].

Made ſenſible, by this mortifying check, and the information connected with it, of the impracticability of approaching Quebec, on the ſide of Montmorency, while the marquis de Montcalm choſe to maintain his ſtation, Wolfe detached general Murray, with twelve hundred men in tranſports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to deſtroy the French ſhipping, and otherwiſe to diſtreſs, and diſtract the enemy, by deſcents upon the banks of the river. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, Murray made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern ſhore, but without ſucceſs: in the third, he was more fortunate. By a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, he burnt a valuable magazine, filled with cloathing, arms, ammunition, and proviſions. That was a ſervice of conſiderable importance, though by no means adequate to his wiſhes. The French ſhips were ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. He therefore returned to the Britiſh camp at the requeſt of the commander in chief, in ſome meaſure diſappointed, but with the conſolatory intelligence, (received from his priſoners), "That "Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point "were abandoned; and that general Amherſt was employed

Aug. 25.

13. This is in ſome meaſure admitted by Wolfe himſelf. Id. ibid.

in

"in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Isle "Aux Noix."

This intelligence, however, though agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of any immediate assistance. The season wasted apace; and the fervid spirit of general Wolfe, which could not brook the most distant prospect of censure, or disgrace, began to prey upon his naturally delicate constitution. Conscious that the conduct of no leader can ever be honoured with true applause, unless gilded with success, he dreaded alike to become the object of the pity or the scorn of his capricious countrymen. His own high notions of military glory, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment, and the fear of miscarriage, into a disease that threatened the dissolution of this tender frame. Though determined, as he declared in his disquiet, never to return to England without accomplishing his enterprise, he sent to the ministry a pathetic, and even desponding account of his situation, in order seemingly to prepare the minds of the people for the worst [14].

Sept. 2.

Having thus unburdened his mind, and found, no doubt, the consequent relief, he called a council of his principal officers, in which it was resolved, That the future operations should be above the town, in order to draw the French general, if possible, from his impregnable position, and bring on an engagement. The camp at Montmorency was accordingly abandoned; and the whole British army being embarked on board the fleet, part of it was landed at Point Levi, and part carried higher up the river. The good effects of this new scheme were soon visible.

Sept. 3.

The marquis de Montcalm, apprehensive that the invaders

14. "The affairs of Great Britain, I know," says he, "*require* the most "*vigorous measures*; but then the *courage* of a *handful* of *brave men* should "be *exerted only* where there is *some probability* of *success*!" *Letter* to Mr. Pitt, ubi sup.

might

might make a diſtant deſcent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, in order to watch their motions; and by that means weakened his own army. Meantime a daring plan was formed by the three Engliſh brigadier generals, and preſented to the commander in chief; namely a propoſal for landing the troops in the night under the heights of Abraham, a little above the town, in hopes of conquering the rugged aſcent before morning.

The very boldneſs of this plan, which was conceived while Wolfe was confined by ſickneſs, recommended it to his generous and intrepid ſpirit. The ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving, the intended landing-place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark, and the ſteep ſo difficult as hardly to be aſcended in the day-time, even without oppoſition. The French general could not think that a deſcent would be attempted in defiance of ſo many obſtacles. It was effected, however, with equal judgment and vigour. Wolfe himſelf was one of the firſt who leaped on ſhore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice. All the troops vied with each other in emulating the gallant example; and the whole Britiſh army had reached the ſummit, and was ranged under its proper officers, by break of day. Sept. 13.

Montcalm, as Wolfe had foreſeen, when informed that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec, could not at firſt credit the alarming intelligence. The aſcent of an army by ſuch a precipice exceeded all his ideas of military enterpriſe. He believed it to be only a feint, magnified by report, in order to induce him to abandon his ſtrong poſt. But when convinced of its reality, he no longer heſitated what courſe to purſue; when he found that a battle could not prudently be avoided, he bravely reſolved to hazard one, and immediately put his troops in motion for that purpoſe.

No

No ſooner did general Wolfe perceive the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles, than he began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by general Monkton, and the left by general Murray. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, ſecured the rear; and as the marquis de Montcalm advanced in ſuch a manner as to ſhew his intention was to out-flank the left of the Engliſh army, general Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed *en potence*, ſo as to preſent a double front to the enemy. The body of reſerve conſiſted of one regiment, drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals.

The diſpoſition of the French army was no leſs maſterly. The right wing was compoſed of half the colony troops, two battalions of European ſoldiers, and a body of Indians. The centre conſiſted of a column formed of two other battalions of regulars; and one battalion of regulars, with the remainder of the colony-troops, ſecured the left wing. The buſhes and corn-fields in the enemy's front were filled with fifteen hundred of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave Britiſh officers.

That fire was the more ſeverely felt, as the Britiſh troops were ordered to keep up theirs. This they did with great patience and fortitude, until the French main body advanced within forty yards of their line. Then they poured in, at a general diſcharge, a thick ſhower of bullets, which took full effect, and made terrible havock among the enemy's ranks. Nor did any relaxion of vigour take place. The Britiſh fire was ſupported with the ſame power it had been begun; and the enemy every where yielded to it. But in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itſelf, general Wolfe, who was preſſing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a fatal bullet in his breaſt, and fell in the arms of victory.

Inſtead

Inftead of being difconcerted by the lofs of their commander, every feparate regiment of the Britifh army feemed to exert itfelf for the honour of its own particular character, as well as the glory of the whole. While the grenadiers took vengeance with their bayonets, general Murray brifkly advanced with the troops under his direction, and broke the centre of the French army. Then it was that the Highlanders drawing their broad fwords, completed the confufion of the enemy; and falling upon them with refiftlefs fury, drove the fugitives with great flaughter toward the city of Quebec, or under certain fortifications which the Canadians had raifed on the banks of the river St. Charles.

The other divifions of the Britifh army did not behave with lefs gallantry. Colonel Howe, with part of the light infantry, having taken poft behind a fmall copfe, fallied out frequently upon the flanks of the enemy, during their fpirited attack on the other part of his divifion, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier general Townfhend advanced againft their front; fo that the French general's defign of turning the left flank of the Englifh army was totally defeated. But the gallant officer, who had fo remarkably contributed to this fervice, was fuddenly called to a more important ftation, in confequence of a new difafter. General Monkton, who had fucceeded general Wolfe, according to the order of military precedency, being dangeroufly wounded, the chief command devolved upon Townfhend, as next in feniority. On receiving the melancholy news, he haftened to the centre; and finding the troops fomewhat difordered in the ardour of purfuit, he formed them again with all poffible celerity. That act of generalfhip, however, was fcarce completed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thoufand frefh troops, appeared in the rear of the victorious army. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, a confiderable way up the river, as foon as he received intelligence that the Britifh forces had gained the heights of Abraham. But fortunately the main body of the French army was, by

this time, so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it adviseable to hazard a new attack[15].

The victory was indeed decisive. The brave marquis de Montcalm, and his second in command, were both mortally wounded. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and near an equal number fell in the battle or pursuit. The remainder of their army, unable to keep the field, retired first to Point au Tremble, and afterward to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

The loss of the English, with respect to numbers, was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed five hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist; but wrapt a handkerchief round his arm, and encouraged his men to advance, without discovering the least discomposure. He next received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when told that the French army was totally routed, and fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy!"—and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance an air of exultation and triumph.

Wolfe, at the age of thirty-five, to all the fervour of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, the humanity, generosity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconsiderable share of the presence of mind and military skill that constitute the great commander. He needed only years and opportunity of action, to place him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation; to moderate his ardour, ex-

15. *Letter* from brigadier-general Townshend to Mr. Secretary Pitt, *in* London *Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1759. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

pand

pand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and ſcientific knowledge, the correctneſs of judgment perfected by experience.

Montcalm, the French general, was not inferior to his antagoniſt in military talents. Though leſs fortunate in the laſt ſcene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made the moſt judicious diſpoſitions that human prudence could ſuggeſt, both before the battle of Quebec, and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words leſs remarkable than thoſe of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" ſaid he, when informed that his wound was mortal; and on being told he could ſurvive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So "much the better!—I ſhall not then live to ſee the ſurren- "der of Quebec [16]."

That event, as the illuſtrious Montcalm foreſaw, was not diſtant. Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood, the city of Quebec ſurrendered to the Engliſh fleet and army, which were preparing for a grand attack. Sept. 18. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace ſhould decide their future condition [17]. Thus was the capital of New France reduced under the dominion of Great Britain, after an arduous campaign of about three months; and, all circumſtances conſidered, perhaps there never was a naval and military enterpriſe conducted with more ſteady perſeverance, or diſtinguiſhed by more vigour and ability.

While the Britiſh generals were thus making rapid ſtrides toward the final conqueſt of the French empire in America, M. de Lally, the French governor-general in the Eaſt Indies, threatened with utter ſubjection the Engliſh ſettlements in the Carnatic. Having reduced Fort St. David and Cudalore, as already related, his next attempt was againſt Madraſs, the

16. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

17. London *Gazette*, ubi ſup.

principal English settlement on the coast of Coromandel. This place was regularly invested by two thousand European troops, and a large body of Sepoys, after its brave but slender garrison had made every possible effort to keep the enemy at a distance. And by the resolution of governor Pigot, and the persevering courage of colonel Draper, colonel Lawrence, and other gallant officers, it was enabled to hold out till the arrival of succours. On the appearance of captain Kempenfelt in the Queenborough man of war, and the company's ship Revenge, with a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, the French general found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; greatly mortified and enraged at a disappointment, which blasted all his sanguine hopes of expelling the English from the peninsula of Indostan.

The British forces in the Carnatic, though still inferior to those of the enemy in numbers, now took the field in different divisions, and reduced successively the French settlements of Masulipatam and Conjeveram. Major Brereton, however, unhappily failed in a rash but vigorous attack upon Vandivash. He was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men. But Vandivash was afterward reduced, and also Carnagolly, by colonel Coote, who had superseded Brereton in the command of the British forces. This able officer bravely maintained his conquest, and defeated a strong army under general Lally, who made a bold attempt to regain possession of the disputed settlement.

The battle of Vandivash was accompanied with several circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a description. General Lally being early deserted by his whole body of cavalry, in consequence of a brisk cannonade, put himself at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuously rushed into action. Colonel Coote coolly received the enemy at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, opposed obliquely to theirs. Nor did he alter his disposition, although they did. After two discharges, the regiment of Lorrain vigorously pressed on, in the form of a column,

through

through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all resistance. In an instant the two regiments were engaged at the push of the bayonet. The front of the French column at first broke the English line, and a momentary confusion ensued. But no sooner did man encounter man in single opposition, than the superiority of British prowess was conspicuous. The field was suddenly strewed with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorrain was broken, routed, and hotly pursued.

This conflict was followed by another, no less bloody, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As soon as colonel Coote could restrain the ardour of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to advance with Draper's regiment (the colonel having returned to England for the recovery of his health) and take possession of a fortified post, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was mortally wounded, but not before he saw that the post was gained. "Follow your blow!" said he greatly, to some of the soldiers, who offered to assist him; "and leave me to my "fate!"

That service was gallantly performed by major Monson, who now succeeded to the command of Draper's regiment. In vain did M. de Bussy attempt to recover the dear-earned post, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, to maintain the combat on the plain. His horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, in leading on to the push of the bayonet the few troops that preserved any countenance. Major Monson received his sword. The regiment of Lally was utterly broken; and the French general, having lost six hundred men, was happy to save the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors[18]. The routed infantry formed behind the cavalry, which had recovered from their panic, and the flight was conducted with some degree of order.

18. Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book xii.

Nor were theſe the only achievements of the Britiſh forces in the Eaſt Indies, in the courſe of this memorable year. During the progreſs of colonel Coote on the coaſt of Coromandel, admiral Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet, under M. d' Aché, in a third and deſperate engagement, though without capturing any ſhips. Surat, a place of great conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the Engliſh ſettlement of Bombay. The French factory there was deſtroyed; and, on the oppoſite ſide of the peninſula, the Dutch were chaſtiſed, for attempting to acquire an aſcendancy in Bengal.

Theſe avaricious republicans, whoſe graſping ſpirit no principles can moderate, no treaties reſtrain, become jealous of the growth of the Engliſh power in the Eaſt Indies, and, enraged at the loſs of certain branches of trade, which they had been accuſtomed to monopolize, formed a conſpiracy for the extirpation of their rivals, as atrocious as that of Amboyna. In conſequence of this conſpiracy (in which the French and the nabob of Bengal are ſuppoſed to have been engaged), the government of Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing their ſettlement at Chincura, ſent an armament of ſeven ſhips, and thirteen hundred land-forces, up the river Hughley. The troops were landed near Tannah Fort, and a detachment from Chincura advanced to meet them. Meantime colonel Forde, who had been appointed to watch their motions, at the head of the troops of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, gave battle firſt to the detachment and afterward to the main body; defeated both; killed four hundred and forty men, and made all the fugitives priſoners. About the ſame time, three Engliſh Eaſt India ſhips (armed and manned for deſperate ſervice) gave battle to the Dutch ſquadron, and obliged the whole to ſtrike, after an obſtinate engagement [19].

Seeing their armament thus humbled, the factory at Chin-

19. Compared *Relations* of the hoſtile attempt of the Dutch in Bengal, tranſmitted to the Eaſt India Houſe.

cura agreed to ſuch conditions as the government of Calcutta thought proper to impoſe, diſclaiming all knowledge of hoſtile intentions. Similar proteſtations were made by the States-general in Europe; and the Britiſh miniſtry, though by no means convinced of their good faith, ſeemed to admit their apology. The chaſtiſement inflicted, though neceſſary for ſelf-defence, was thought ſufficiently ſevere to operate as a correction.

Every where victorious by land, and crowned with conqueſt at both extremities of the earth, the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in Europe was no leſs ſplendid by ſea. Elated with their advantage at St. Cas, the French talked loudly of retaliating the inſults on their coaſts, by invading, at the ſame time, Great Britain and Ireland in three different places. Their miniſtry, embarraſſed by the failure of public credit, were happy to indulge the national vanity. Large bodies of troops were accordingly aſſembled on the coaſts of the Channel; men of war and tranſports were collected, and flat-bottomed boats prepared at the principal ſea-ports. A ſmall armament, ſaid to be deſtined for the invaſion of Scotland, was to ſail from Dunkirk, under the conduct of M. de Thurot, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the commander of a privateer; that, ſuppoſed to be deſigned againſt Ireland, was to ſail from Vannes, in Lower Britanny; the land forces to be commanded by the duke d'Aguillon, and the fleet, which was preparing at Breſt, by M. de Conflans; while the troops intended for the invaſion of England, if any ſuch intention ever exiſted, were to ſail from Havre de Grace, and other ports on the coaſt of Normandy, in flat bottomed boats, and land in the night, under able commanders on the oppoſite ſhore.

In order to defeat the purpoſe of theſe boaſted armaments, an Engliſh ſquadron, under commodore Boys, was ſtationed off Dunkirk; the port of Havre de Grace was guarded, and the town ſucceſsfully bombarded, by rear-admiral Rodney; Sir Edward Hawke, with a formidable force, blocked up the

harbour of Breſt, where the French fleet, under Conflans, lay in readineſs to conduct, as was ſuppoſed, the tranſports and flat-bottomed boats belonging to the grand armament; and a ſmall ſquadron, detached from that under Hawke, hovered on the coaſt of Britanny. Theſe precautions were continued during the whole ſummer. All the ports of France in the Channel were under an actual blockade; and the projected invaſions, in conſequence of this reſtraint, ſeemed to be laid aſide by the French miniſtry, till the month of Auguſt, when, the battle of Minden having baffled all their deſigns upon Hanover, they turned their attention ſeriouſly toward their naval armaments.

In the mean time admiral Boſcawen, who commanded the Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean, was employed in blocking up, in the harbour of Toulon, a French ſquadron, under M. de la Clue, deſigned to aſſiſt, as was believed, in the deſcents upon the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland. But Boſcawen finding it neceſſary to return to Gibraltar to careen, M. de la Clue took that opportunity to attempt to paſs the Straits, and had nearly accompliſhed his purpoſe, when he was diſcovered by the Engliſh admiral; purſued, and overtaken, on Auguſt 18, off Cape Lagos, on the coaſt of Portugal. The ſquadrons were nearly equal in force; the French conſiſted of twelve, and the Engliſh of fourteen ſhips of the line. The French, however, made but a feeble reſiſtance. The admiral's ſhip, named the Ocean, of eighty guns, and the Redoutable, of ſeventy-four guns, were deſtroyed; and the Temeraire of twenty-four, and the Modeſte of ſixty-four guns, were taken[20].

This diſaſter did not diſcourage the French miniſtry from their projected invaſions. The greateſt preparations were made at Breſt and Rochfort; and the long-neglected Pretender, again flattered and careſſed, is ſaid to have remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes, in diſguiſe, in order once

20. Boſcawen's *Letter*, in London *Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1759.

more

more to hazard his perſon, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of his anceſtors, to ſerve the ambitious purpoſes of France. Happily the execution of that ſcheme, which might have produced much confuſion, was prevented, by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, till the ſeaſon of action was paſt. But the French, in their ardour, ſeemed to diſregard the courſe of the ſeaſons and the rage of the elements. The Engliſh fleet being driven off the coaſt of France by a violent ſtorm, Conflans put to ſea with twenty-one ſail of the line and four frigates, and threw the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland into the utmoſt terror and conſternation. But their alarm was only for a moment.

Sir Edward Hawke, who had taken ſhelter in Torbay, alſo put to ſea with twenty-two ſhips of the line, and came up with the enemy between Belleiſle and Cape Quiberon. The French admiral, being on his own coaſt, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and not chuſing openly to hazard a battle or expoſe himſelf to the diſgrace of a retreat, attempted to take advantage of a lee-ſhore, ſown thick with rocks and ſhoals. Among theſe he hoped to remain ſecure, or to profit by the temerity of his antagoniſt. He accordingly collected his fleet under the land. Hawke ſaw the danger, and determined to brave it; though, in ſo doing, he perhaps obeyed the dictates of his own impetuous courage rather than thoſe of a prudent foreſight. While his fleet remained entire, he was at all times equal to the important charge with which he was entruſted by his ſovereign, the protection of the Britiſh kingdoms; but, ſhould it be deſtroyed by fortuitous means, the conſequences might prove very diſtreſſing to his country. Happily, on this occaſion, the Engliſh admiral, whoſe honeſt mind was not the moſt enlightened, and whoſe lion-heart had never liſtened to the cautious ſuggeſtions of fear, being little acquainted with conſequential reaſoning, paid leſs regard to the poſſible diſaſter, than to the probability of acquiring a complete victory, and eſſentially ſerving his country, by the deſtruction of the

French fleet. Regardless of every peril, he bore down with full sail upon the enemy, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ordered the pilot to lay his own ship, the Royal George, along-side of that of the French admiral, named the Royal Sun.

Nov. 20.

The pilot represented the danger of the coast. "By this "remonstrance," said Hawke, "you have done your duty: "now execute my orders, and I will endeavour to do mine." He reluctantly obeyed. Conflans did not decline the combat; but a French captain, with the gallantry peculiar to his nation, threw himself betweeen the two admirals. One broadside from the Royal George, and a high sea, sent his noble ship, called the Thesée, with him and all his crew, to the bottom. The Superbe shared the same fate. The Formidable struck her colours. The Royal Sun drove a-shore, and was burnt by her own people, as the Hero was by the British seamen. The Juste sunk at the mouth of the Loire. Unfortunately, however, a tempestuous night, which saved the French fleet from utter ruin, proved fatal to two English ships of the line. They ran upon a sand-bank, and were irretrievably lost. But all the men, and part of the stores, were saved [21].

This justly celebrated victory, which broke the boasted effort of the naval power of France, freed the inhabitants of South Britain from all the apprehensions of an invasion. But the people of North Britain were still kept under alarm. The famous adventurer Thurot had got out of Dunkirk a little before Conflans left Brest. His squadron consisted of one ship of forty-four guns, named the Belleisle, in honour of the French minister; three frigates of thirty guns each, and one of twenty-four; the whole carrying about twelve hundred land-forces.

With this force Thurot sailed into the North Sea, and

21. Sir Edward Hawke's *Letter*, in London *Gazette*, Nov. 30, 1759, and information afterward received relative to the action.

shewed

ſhewed a diſpoſition to land on the coaſt of Scotland, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen: but being purſued by commodore Boys, he was obliged to take ſhelter in Gottenburg in Sweden, and afterward in Bergen in Norway. During theſe voyages, in an inclement ſeaſon, his men became ſickly, his ſhips were greatly ſhattered, and he loſt company with one of them. He determined, however, to attempt ſomething worthy of his former exploits, before he returned to France. Nor was he void of hopes of yet co-operating with Conflans, with whoſe defeat he was unacquainted. He accordingly ſailed for the coaſt of Ireland, and made himſelf maſter of Carrickfergus. Having there victualled his ſhips, pillaged the town, and got certain intelligence of the ruin of the French fleet, he again put to ſea, and ſteered his courſe homeward. But he was ſwiftly purſued by captain Elliot, in the Æolus frigate of thirty-ſix guns, accompanied by the Pallas, and Brilliant, of thirty-two guns each, and overtaken near the Iſle of Man. The force on both ſides was nearly equal: the commanders were rivals in valour and naval ſkill; the crews were tried; and the engagement that took place was obſtinate and bloody. The death of the gallant Thurot determined the conteſt. The Belleiſle ſtruck her colours, and the whole French ſquadron inſtantly followed her example [22].

Feb. 28. A. D. 1760.

Theſe naval victories, with the conqueſts acquired by the Britiſh arms in North America, and in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, in a word, wherever ſhipping could give a ſuperiority, ſufficiently pointed out to the intelligent part of the nation the true line of future hoſtilities, and the madneſs of perſiſting in the proſecution of a ruinous German war. Yet was it reſolved, by the popular adminiſtration, not only to proſecute that war, but to make it the ſupreme object during the enſuing campaign. Three millions ſterling were accordingly granted, by parliament, in ſubſidies, to German princes, be-

22. London *Gazette*, March 3, 1760.

ſide

ſide the enormous ſupplies demanded for maintaining twenty-five thouſand Britiſh troops in Weſtphalia. And all theſe troops and ſubſidies, it muſt be owned, were neceſſary for the defence of the electorate of Hanover, and in order to enable the king of Pruſſia to ſupport his declining fortune againſt the Auſtrians, Ruſſians, Swedes, and the Army of the Empire. But why the people of Great Britain ſhould burthen themſelves, for ſuch purpoſes, with between five and ſix millions of debt annually, is a queſtion that no good citizen could anſwer with temper, and which a quiet ſubject would not chuſe to inveſtigate. It will, therefore, be enough to ſay, That ſuch was the wiſh of the monarch, and the will of the miniſter, who governed the populace and the parliament with abſolute ſway; and who had the addreſs to convince both, That it would be ungenerous in Great Britain, and unworthy of her glory, to deſert an illuſtrious ally in diſtreſs, after having encouraged him to engage in ſo arduous a ſtruggle; or to permit the electoral dominions of her ſovereign, how ſmall ſoever their value, to fall into the hands of an enemy whom ſhe had vanquiſhed in every other part of the world.

The people of France were no leſs generous to their king. As the ordinary reſources of the ſtate had failed, the principal nobility and gentry, in imitation of his example, threw their plate into the public treaſury, in order to enable him to ſupport with vigour the war in Germany; conſcious that the ſtrength of the kingdom could there, on its own frontier, be exerted to the greateſt advantage, and that of Great Britain with the leaſt effect. The French army in Weſtphalia was accordingly augmented to one hundred thouſand men, under the duke de Broglio, now honoured with a mareſchal's ſtaff, and entruſted with the chief command; while an inferior army, conſiſting of near thirty thouſand good troops, was formed upon the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain.

The allied army, under prince Ferdinand, was leſs nume-

rous than that under Broglio, but the troops were in better condition. The allies, however, very prudently acted chiefly on the defensive. Yet if Broglio and St. Germain had not quarrelled, and come to an open rupture, in consequence of which the latter left the service, prince Ferdinand would have found himself under the necessity of hazarding a general action, or of suffering himself to be surrounded. Before this quarrel, which happened about the middle of the campaign, and disconcerted all their plan of operations, the progress of the French arms had been very rapid. Broglio, paying no regard to the places of strength possessed by the allies in his front, pushed into the landgraviate of Hesse with the grand army, leaving detachments to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillenburg; while St. Germain penetrated through the duchy of Westphalia, and the two armies formed a junction near a place called Corbach, on the tenth of July.

Ignorant of this junction, and desirous to prevent it, prince Ferdinand, who had fallen back with the allied army from Fitzlar, and was retreating toward the river Dymel, sent the hereditary prince, with a strong detachment, before him to Saxenhausen, where he meant to encamp. Continuing to advance, that gallant youth found a body of French troops formed near Corbach; and concluding them to be St. Germain's van-guard, as they did not seem to exceed ten battalions, and fifteen squadrons, he attacked them with great fury. But the French stood their ground with firmness; and being continually reinforced with fresh troops from the main army, the hereditary prince was obliged to retire in some disorder, and with considerable loss[23]. A few days after, however, he severely retaliated upon the enemy, by surprising a French detachment, under M. Glaubitz, at Ermsdorff. Beside killing a great number of all ranks, and taking their artillery and baggage, he made the commander

23. Lond. *Gazette*, July 22, 1760.

in chief, with one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven officers, and two thouſand two hundred and eighty-two private men, priſoners of war [24].

During theſe tranſactions, the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. And the chevalier de Muy, who had ſucceeded the count de St. Germain, as ſecond in command, having paſſed the Dymel at Stadtbergen, with thirty-five thouſand men (being the reſerve of the French army), and extended this body along the banks of that river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Weſtphalia, prince Ferdinand alſo paſſed the Dymel to give him battle. He accordingly ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken, who had reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy, advantageouſly poſted near Warburg, to turn their left wing, while he himſelf advanced againſt their centre, on the thirty-firſt day of July, with the main body of the allied army. Thus attacked in flank and rear, and in danger of being ſurrounded, the French, after a ſmart engagement, retired with precipitation toward Statberg, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred men dead or dangerouſly wounded. About an equal number were made priſoners in the purſuit, by the Britiſh cavalry. The loſs of the allies was very inconſiderable [25].

By this advantage, which inſured to him the command of the Weſer and the Dymel, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Weſtphalia, and to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into the electorate of Hanover. But in order to obtain theſe important ends, he was under the neceſſity, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs, of ſacrificing the whole landgraviate of Heſſe. The enemy even reduced Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, while the people of England were celebrating with bonfires and illuminations the victory obtained by

24. Ibid. July 29.

25. Lond. *Gazette*, Aug. 9, 1760.

their

their arms, which was immediately followed by all the apparent consequences of a defeat.

Prince Ferdinand, however, regardless of appearances, continued to occupy Warburg, for more than a month after the battle; and the duke de Broglio, over-awed by so commanding a position, attempted nothing farther of any consequence during the campaign. In the mean time the hereditary prince undertook a rambling expedition to the Lower Rhine, and laid siege to Wesel. But he was defeated near the convent of Campen, on the sixteenth of October, by a body of French troops, under M. de Castries, and obliged to return with the loss of near two thousand brave men; including killed, wounded, prisoners, and those who died of fatigue[26]. Soon after this severe check, both armies went into winter-quarters; the French being left in possession of Hesse, and of the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. The British troops were cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn, where they suffered great hardships from scarcity of forage and provisions. Few campaigns, between armies so numerous and well appointed, have been more barren of memorable events.

The king of Prussia, as usual, was more active than the general of the allies; and the desperate state of his affairs required the most vigorous exertions. He began the campaign, however, on a defensive plan. Having passed the winter in Saxony, he took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Mulda, in the month of April. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army, under mareschal Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same

26. Ibid. Oct. 28, et seq.

time

time to send a strong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without exposing himself to any danger.

Prince Henry had assembled an army near Frankfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. Fouquet, another Prussian general, had established his quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz. And whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was so posted as to send to or receive succours from him, as either party should happen to be pressed.

Military science could not perhaps have devised a more complete defensive system. But the wisest precautions may be eluded by cunning, or disconcerted by enterprise. General Laudohn, the most enterprising of all the Austrian commanders, having quitted his camp in Bohemia (where he had passed the winter), with a strong but light and disencumbered army, threatened alternately Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg; Breslaw, Berlin, and Schweidnitz. At length he seemed to fix upon the latter; and general Fouquet, deceived by the artful feint, marched to Schweidnitz with the main body of his troops, and left Glatz uncovered.

No sooner did Laudohn perceive, that this stratagem had succeeded, than he made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut, which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut with great ease. Meanwhile Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was, in some measure, enabled to surround the little army under Fouquet. The Prussian general did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Austrians attacked

attacked his entrenchments with irreſiſtible fury! and he himſelf having received two mortal wounds, and four thouſand of his troops being ſlain, the remains of his army, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, threw down their arms on the field, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. The reduction of Glatz, on which Laudohn fell like a thunder-bolt, was the immediate conſequence of this deciſive victory[27].

The king of Pruſſia's defenſive plan ſeemed now to be entirely ruined. One of his three armies was deſtroyed, and the victorious Laudohn was ready to lay ſiege to Breſlaw, where he expected to be joined by the Ruſſians, and enabled to complete the conqueſt of Sileſia, the great object of the war. His Pruſſian majeſty ſaw the danger; and while the fortitude of his ſpirit determined him to meet it without ſhrinking, his daring genius led him to hope, that the moſt important advantages might be drawn from the very boſom of misfortune. He accordingly quitted his ſtrong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and directed his march toward Sileſia. Mareſchal Daun purſued the ſame route, and by forced marches got the ſtart of his heroic antagoniſt, who was more dilatory than uſual.

The Auſtrian general had reached Gorlitz, and was puſhing on to Lauban, when the gallant Frederick received the agreeable intelligence of his rapid progreſs, and, by one of the boldeſt acts of generalſhip recorded in the annals of war, wheeled into the oppoſite direction; repaſſed the Spree near Bautzen, and threw himſelf unexpectedly before Dreſden. His appearance ſtruck the garriſon like the ſpringing of a mine. But Macguire, the governor, being an officer of courage and experience, not only refuſed to ſurrender the place, but reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity; and as it had been ſtrengthened by ſeveral additional fortifications, ſince it had fallen into the hands of the Auſtrians, it baffled all the deſperate aſſaults of the Pruſſians, and glorioully held out

27. Pruſſian and Auſtrian *Relations* compared.

against

against every mode of attack, until mareschal Daun returned from Silesia, and obliged the king to relinquish an enterprise, which deserved to have been crowned with the most brilliant success [28].

July 21.

Chagrined at his disappointment, the Prussian monarch offered battle to Daun; but that cautious commander prudently declined the challenge, and took every measure to render an attack impracticable. In the mean time general Laudohn, having completed his preparations, laid siege to Breslaw, and attempted to intimidate the governor and the inhabitants into an immediate capitulation, by a pompous display of his strength. He set forth, That his forces consisted of fifty battalions and eighty squadrons; that the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was within three days march; that it was in vain for the governor to expect succour from the king of Prussia, then on the other side of the Elbe, and still more vain to look for relief from prince Henry, who must sink beneath the sword of the Russians, if he attempted to obstruct their progress. And he declared that the garrison must expect no terms, nor the inhabitants any favour, if they attempted to hold out.

July 30.

Finding all his threats ineffectual, as the governor's reply was firm and manly, Laudohn endeavoured to put them in execution. He tried to carry the town by assault, while he thundered upon it, from an immense artillery, a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. But the assault failed; and the awful bombardment affected only the wretched inhabitants, on whom it fell like the vengeance of Heaven. At length an

28. It will detract little from the merit of this enterprise, to suppose, as has been insinuated, That the king of Prussia had an intention to march into Silesia, till he found that Daun had got the start of him. But, if such had been really his purpose, there is no reason to suppose he would have permitted Daun to gain upon him a march of two days; as, on every other occasion, he exceeded the Austrians in the celerity of his motions. And his return was infinitely more rapid than his advance.

army

army was seen, and tremulous hope and convulsive fear shook, by turns, the hearts of the distracted citizens:—but it was not an army of Russians. A deliverer appeared in the person of prince Henry, whose peculiar fortune it was, with a happy conformity to his beneficent disposition, more frequently to save than to destroy. He had marched one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage. The Austrians abandoned the siege on his approach [29]. Aug. 5.

But the rapid march of prince Henry, and the relief of Breslaw, seemed only to retard for a moment the final ruin of the king of Prussia's affairs. Laudohn, lately victorious, and still formidable, though obliged to retire before the royal brother, kept Schweidnitz and Neiss under blockade, and anxiously waited the arrival of the Russians; when he hoped not only to receive the submission of those two places, but to return to the siege of the capital, and complete at one blow the conquest of Silesia.

The main body of the Russian army, under count Czernichew, had actually reached the frontiers of that province, and wanted only a few days' unobstructed march to form the much feared and desired junction. Another body of Russians had entered Pomerania, where the Prussian forces did not exceed five thousand horse and foot, and threatened to invest Colberg; while the Swedes resumed their operations in the same country, with an army of twenty thousand men.

A plan of mere defence, in such circumstances, must have proved altogether ineffectual. Silesia was in danger of being instantly subdued, by the junction of the Austrians and Russians. The king of Prussia therefore marched thither without delay; and left mareschal Daun, who had the start of him at setting out, considerably behind. He passed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiss, the Quiess, and the Bober, with a numerous army, clogged with its heavy artillery, and above two

29. Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1760.

thousand waggons: and while one body of forces hung on his flank, another on his rear, and a third presented itself in front, he traversed a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, under all those perils and difficulties, with a celerity that would have rendered memorable the march of a detachment of light troops. But he was not able, with all his activity, to bring Laudohn to action, before that general was joined by the Austrian armies under Daun and Lacy. And by the forces of these three generals, which occupied an immense extent of ground, he was in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz. In vain did he attempt, by various movements, to divide the enemy's strength, to turn their flanks, or attack them under any other disadvantage: the nature of the ground, and the skill of the Austrian generals, rendered abortive all the suggestions of ingenuity.

While thus circumstanced, his Prussian majesty received intelligence, that the Russian army, under count Czernichew, was ready to pass the Oder at Auras. As the least of two dangers, he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. Meanwhile mareschal Daun, having reconnoitred the king's situation at Lignitz, had formed a design of attacking him by surprise, in the night, with the united strength of the three Austrian armies. And he had communicated his design to the two other generals.

Of this design, it is probable, the Prussian monarch was not ignorant; as on the same night that it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post on the heights of Pfaffendorff, by which general Laudohn was to advance. Daun, with no less caution, made his approaches toward the Prussian camp; but, to his astonishment, on his arrival, he found no enemy there. When day broke, however, he could perceive at a distance the rising of a thick smoke, which left him little room to doubt in what business the king was engaged, or for what purpose he had quitted his station.

As Laudohn was eagerly pressing on to Lignitz, and feeding

ing his heart with ſplendid hopes of the glory which he ſhould acquire, by his diſtinguiſhed ſhare in the action that was to determine the fate of the illuſtrious Frederick, he was furiouſly attacked about three o'clock in the morning, by the Pruſſian army, drawn up in order of battle; and obliged to retire, after an obſtinate diſpute, with the loſs of eight thouſand men. Nor could mareſchal Daun poſſibly come to his aſſiſtance. His Pruſſian majeſty, who expoſed his own perſon in a remarkable manner in order to animate his troops, was unguarded in nothing elſe. He had ſecured his rear ſo effectually with a ſtrong body of reſerve, and by a numerous artillery, judiciouſly planted on the heights of Pſaffendorff, as to render an attack altogether impracticable. Daun therefore found himſelf under the neceſſity of remaining inactive, and of waiting, in anxious ſuſpenſe, the iſſue of the momentous combat. It was finally decided by ſix o'clock, when the Auſtrians gave way on all ſides, and were purſued as far as the Katſbach, a river that falls in to the Oder a little below Lignitz. The king did not chuſe to puſh his advantage farther, leſt he ſhould afford the wily and watchful Daun an opportunity of disjoining his army [30].

By this victory, the Pruſſian monarch not only reſcued himſelf from the moſt imminent danger, but prevented the long-dreaded junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies in Sileſia; for count Czernichew was ſo much intimidated at the defeat of the Auſtrians, that he immediately repaſſed the Oder. Having joined his brother Henry at Newmarke, and opened a communication with Breſlaw, the king therefore marched againſt mareſchal Daun, who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz; routed a body of the enemy under general Beck, and obliged the grand Auſtrian army, under Daun, to forego its purpoſe, and take refuge in the mountains of Landſhut.

30. Pruſſian and Auſtrian *Accounts*, in London and foreign *Gazettes*, compared.

What time his Pruſſian majeſty was making theſe heroic efforts in Sileſia, the reputation of his arms was admirably ſupported in Saxony by general Hulſen, to whom he had committed the command of his troops in that country, and who gained ſeveral advantages over the army of the Empire. But the ſtate of his affairs in other quarters was very different. The Ruſſians, after they repaſſed the Oder, puſhed a ſtrong detachment into Brandenburg; and count Czernichew, the Ruſſian commander, being there joined by a large body of Auſtrians under general Lacy, the

Oct. 9.

united army made itſelf maſter of Berlin[31]. Nor was this mortifying blow the only ſtroke of ill fortune that fell upon the gallant Frederick.

The Ruſſians and Auſtrians, having levied a contribution upon the inhabitants of Berlin, deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, and pillaged the royal palaces, retired by different routes, on hearing that the king was advancing to the relief of his capital. The city ſuffered conſiderably, eſpecially in its ornaments; the adjacent country was ravaged, and his Pruſſian majeſty ſuſtained a prodigious loſs in valuable furniture and military ſtores. But theſe were not the worſt conſequences that attended the invaſion of Brandenburg, and the taking of the ſeat of government, of arts, and of elegance.

When Berlin was firſt threatened, general Hulſen left Saxony, and attempted to oppoſe the enemy. He found himſelf unequal to the generous purpoſe, yet continued to hover in the neighbourhood, in order to ſeize any advantage that might offer. In the mean time the prince of Deux-ponts, meeting with no interruption, made rapid progreſs in Saxony. Leipſic, Torgaw, and Wittemberg ſucceſſively ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. And while the illuſtrious Frederick was thus loſing his footing in Saxony, which had been hitherto the great ſupport of his armies, a detachment

31. Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1760.

from the French army in Weſtphalia laid Halberſtadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Ruſſians, who had inveſted Colberg both by land and ſea. The ſituation of the king of Pruſſia again ſeemed deſperate. All his motions, in his march toward Brandenburg, were watched by Daun, whoſe army had been reinforced; and Laudohn, in his abſence, had laid ſiege to the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Coſel in Sileſia, and threatened the whole province with ſubjection.

It now became neceſſary for the warlike monarch, who was ſtill at the head of a ſtrong army, to call up once more the vigour of his genius, and attempt by ſome bold exertion to extricate himſelf from all his difficulties. He had determined to make ſuch an exertion. And no ſooner did he learn, that the enemy had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, than he paſſed the Elbe, and ruſhed into Saxony. Mareſchal Daun followed him, with an army of eighty thouſand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgaw; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and left being ſecured by ponds, hills, and woods. A ſtronger poſition than that ſeized upon by the Auſtrian general, could not poſſibly have been choſen by a ſmall army, as a ſecurity againſt one of the greateſt force. Yet did his Pruſſian majeſty, encompaſſed by dangers, reſolve to attack, with only fifty thouſand men, that able and experienced commander in his ſeemingly impregnable camp; as he could not hope to draw him from it, and winter was faſt approaching.

Oct. 25.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the moſt daring that could be dictated by deſpair, the king divided his army into three bodies, and made all his diſpoſitions with as much coolneſs and caution, as if it had been the reſult of the moſt guarded prudence. General Hulſen, with one body, was directed to take poſt in a wood on the left of the Auſtrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other

divisions of the Prussian army were engaged. General Zeithen was instructed to charge on the enemy's right; and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by his Prussian majesty in person. These dispositions being made, the king informed his officers, That he was determined to conquer or die. They unanimously answered, they would die or conquer with him.

Pleased with the ardour of his troops, and convinced that they would not disappoint his hopes, the intrepid monarch, having made his approaches in the morning, began an attack upon the enemy's camp about two in the afternoon. He was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, disposed along the front of the Austrian line. The Prussian infantry, which were first presented, persevered in their efforts with uncommon resolution. But they were at length broken, and repulsed with great slaughter; after they had been three times led on to the charge, and as often obliged to give ground. The king ordered his cavalry to advance. They broke the Austrian infantry, by their impetuous shock, but were soon forced to retire by the pressure of fresh battalions, which poured in on every side. And victory seemed ready to declare for the Austrians, when general Zeithen, with the Prussian left wing, fell upon the enemy's rear; and mareschal Daun, having received a dangerous wound in the thigh, was carried off the field.

Nov. 23.

Encouraged by the confusion occasioned by these fortunate circumstances, the Prussian infantry returned once more to the charge. The cavalry, following their example, threw several bodies of Austrians into irreparable disorder; and if the darkness of night had not prevented the possibility of pursuit, and enabled the routed army to escape over the Elbe, the victory would have been complete, and the carnage immense. As matters terminated, the loss of lives, in the battle of Torgaw, was very considerable. About ten thousand

men

men were killed or wounded on each ſide. And the Pruſſians took near eight thouſand priſoners, among whom were four generals, and two hundred inferior officers [32].

Of all the king of Pruſſia's victories, this was perhaps the moſt glorious, as it certainly was the moſt important. His troops, though very different from thoſe invincible battalions, now no more, which he had formerly led into Bohemia, and which conquered at Lowoſitz, Prague, Liſſa, and Roſbach, animated by his preſence and example, behaved with a firmneſs worthy of the moſt hardy veterans. In no battle did he ever expoſe his own perſon ſo much; yet, as if invulnerable, a bullet only grazed gently upon his breaſt. His courage and conduct were alike conſpicuous. The Auſtrians pretended to diſpute with him the honour of the action; but its conſequences ſufficiently proved where the advantage lay.

His Pruſſian majeſty immediately entered Torgaw; he recovered all Saxony except Dreſden (in the neighbourhood of which Daun diſpoſed his army)before the cloſe of the campaign; and he put his troops into winter-quarters in that electorate, inſtead of being obliged to canton them in his own waſted dominions. He attained the object for which he fought, and at the ſame time added new luſtre to his arms. The ſhock of victory ſeemed to be felt in every hoſtile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raiſed the blockade of Caſel, and evacuated Sileſia. The Ruſſians abandoned the ſiege of Colberg in Eaſtern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Pruſſians in Weſtern Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the cannon of Stralſund [33].

During theſe important tranſactions on the continent of Europe, events of ſtill greater moment took place in other quarters of the globe. While the allies of Great Britain,

32. Pruſſian and Auſtrian *Gazettes* compared. 33. Id. ibid.

though ſupported by her money and troops, with difficulty maintained their ground in Germany, which alone ſeemed to engage her attention, her own arms, under the direction of Britiſh officers, were crowned with ſignal ſucceſs in North America and the Eaſt Indies.

The taking of Quebec, it had been generally ſuppoſed, would be followed by the final ſubmiſſion of Canada, without any farther ſtruggle. But this was ſoon diſcovered to be a dangerous miſtake. Although the poſſeſſion of that city was neceſſary to the conqueſt of the province, much yet remained to be done before it could be ſubjected to Great Britain.

The main body of the French army, which had retired, after the battle of Quebec, to Montreal, and ſtill conſiſted of ten battalions of regulars, was there reinforced with ſix thouſand Canadian militia, and a party of Indians. With theſe forces, M. de Levi, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, propoſed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the ſpring. In that reſolution he was encouraged by an overſight of the Engliſh admirals, who had not made ſufficient proviſion againſt his attaining a ſuperiority on the river St. Lawrence. No veſſels of any force had been left at Quebec, on a ſuppoſition that they could not be uſeful in winter.

The French general had even thoughts of attempting the recovery of the place, during the rigour of that ſeaſon; although a Britiſh garriſon of five thouſand men had been left in it under the command of general Murray. But on reconnoitring, he found the out-poſts ſo well ſecured, and the governor ſo vigilant and active, that he delayed the enterpriſe until the month of April. Then his artillery, proviſions, ammunition, and heavy baggage, fell down the St. Lawrence from Montreal, under the convoy of ſix ſtout frigates. This ſquadron ſecured to him the undiſputed command of the river; a circumſtance of the utmoſt importance to the

execution

execution of his whole deſign. And after a march of ten days, he arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

Meanwhile general Murray had omitted no ſtep that could be taken by an able and experienced officer for maintaining the important conqueſt committed to his care. But the garriſon had ſuffered ſo much from exceſſive cold in the winter, and by the want of vegetables and freſh proviſions, that he had not above three thouſand men fit for ſervice, when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army. With this ſmall but gallant body, accuſtomed to conquer, he intrepidly reſolved to meet the enemy in the field, in order to avoid the tedious hardſhips and the dangers of a ſiege, in an extenſive town, with a ſickly garriſon, and all the inhabitants ſecretly hoſtile to him. He accordingly marched out on the 28th of April to the heights of Abraham, and attacked M. de Levi with great impetuoſity, near Sillery. But being out-flanked, and ready to be ſurrounded by ſuperior numbers, he was obliged to retire, after an obſtinate diſpute, with the loſs of one thouſand men [34].

The French loſt above two thouſand men in this action, without deriving any poſitive advantage from it; for general Murray, inſtead of being diſpirited by his defeat, ſeemed only to be rouſed to more ſtrenuous efforts. The ſame bold ſpirit, which had led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a handful of brave men, in hopes of obliging them to relinquiſh their enterpriſe, now animated him in the defence of Quebec with a feeble garriſon, ſince defence was become neceſſary. Nor did the French general loſe a moment in improving his victory. He opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the eleventh of May before he could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time general Murray had completed

34. *Letter* from general Murray, in the Lond. *Gazette*, June 27, 1760. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

ſome

ſome out-works, and planted a numerous artillery on the ramparts; ſo that the French batteries were in a manner ſilenced, by the ſuperior fire of the garriſon. And the place was ſoon relieved, by the fortunate arrival of the Engliſh fleet, under lord Colvil and commodore Swanton [35].

M. de Levi immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retired with the utmoſt precipitation toward Montreal; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and was reſolved to make a laſt ſtand. For this purpoſe he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

In the meantime general Amherſt was diligently employed in taking meaſures for the utter ſubverſion of the French power in that part of the New World. He conveyed inſtructions to general Murray, directing him to advance, by water, to Montreal, with all the troops that could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, by like orders, ſailed with a detachment from Crown Point, and took poſſeſſion of Iſle aux Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly for Montreal; while the commander in chief, with his own diviſion, conſiſting of about ten thouſand regulars and Provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oſwego. There he was joined by a thouſand Indians of the Six Nations, under Sir William Johnſon.

Amherſt embarked on Lake Ontario with his whole army; and after taking the fort of Iſle Royale, which in a manner commands the ſource of the river St. Lawrence, he arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the ſame day that general Murray landed near that place from Quebec. The two generals met with no oppoſition in diſembarking their troops: and by a happy concurrence of circumſtances, colonel Haviland, with the detachment under his command, arrived next day.

35. Id. ibid.

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The junction of these three bodies, composed of the flower of the British forces in North America, and the masterly dispositions made by the commanders, convinced Vaudrueil that all resistance would be ineffectual. He therefore demanded a capitulation; which was granted the eighth of September, and on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect in such circumstances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and every other place possessed by the French within the government of Canada, was surrendered to his Britannic majesty. But it was stipulated that the troops should be transported to Old France; and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion [36].

This was an important conquest, and seemed to complete the great object of the war, the humiliation of the French in North America. But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries, from the province of Louisiana, had exercised their arts of insinuation so successfully among the neighbouring Indians, that the Cherokees, a powerful tribe, had commenced hostilities, toward the close of last campaign, against the more southern English colonies; plundering, massacring, and scalping the inhabitants of the back settlements. Mr. Littleton, governor of South Carolina, repressed their ravages, and obliged them to sue for peace. They engaged to renounce the French interest, but renewed the war. Colonel Montgomery, with a regiment of Highlanders, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincial troops, made war upon them after their own manner, and severely chastised them for their breach of faith. But the consummation of vengeance was reserved for colonel Grant, who desolated the whole country of the Cherokees, destroyed fifteen of their towns, and laid them under the necessity of making the most

36. *Letters* from general Amherst and general Murray, in Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 1760. Knox's *Campaigns*, ubi sup.

humble

humble ſubmiſſions. They accordingly ſupplicated, and obtained the renewal of their treaties with England, at Charles Town, in 1761, with all the marks of a penitent ſpirit and pacific diſpoſition; while the other ſavage tribes, over-awed by the fear of a ſimilar viſitation, ſeemed alike quietly diſpoſed. The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Miſſiſippi, alone remained to France of all her ſettlements in North America:—and theſe were too diſtant and feeble to moleſt the Engliſh colonies.

Nor was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms leſs deciſive in the Eaſt Indies. Encouraged by the taking of Vandevaſh, and his victory over Lally, colonel Coote reſolved to inveſt Pondicherry, the only ſettlement of any conſequence remaining to the French on the coaſt of Coromandel. But as the place was too ſtrong, and the garriſon too numerous to permit him to indulge a hope of carrying it by aſſault, or even by regular approaches, with any force that he could aſſemble, he blocked it up cloſely by land and ſea, and reduced both the garriſon and the inhabitants to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs, and when the blockade, which was formed in the beginning of June, had been continued for many months, the French were ſuddenly flattered with the proſpect of relief. The Engliſh fleet, under admiral Stevens, was driven off the coaſt by a violent ſtorm, Dec. 31. and four ſhips of the line were loſt. But ſuch was the vigour of the officers and ſeamen, that before any ſupplies could be thrown into Pondicherry, it was again blocked up by a ſtout ſquadron. The blockade, by land, had already been changed into a regular ſiege, which was now carried on with redoubled vigour. A breach was made in the ramparts, and the inhabitants offered to capitulate; but as the governor paid no attention to their intereſts, the propoſal was diſregarded [37].

37. *Letter* from colonel Coote, in Lond. *Gazette*, July 20, 1761.

Lally,

Lally, who was at all times a man of violent and turbulent passions, appears to have been disordered in his understanding after his unsuccessful attempt on Madrass. Greatly dissatisfied with the state of the French affairs in India, and with the conduct of the troops under his command, he thus expressed himself in the agitations of his disappointment:— "Hell has spewed me into this country of wickedness; and "I wait, like Jonas, for the whale to receive me in its "belly." By his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, and the tyrannical exercise of his authority, under pretence of reforming abuses, he had early rendered himself equally odious to the governor and council of Pondicherry, and to the officers of the army, and therefore found his situation extremely disagreeable during the siege. "I would rather go to com- "mand the Caffres," said he, "than remain in this Sodom, "which must sooner or later be destroyed by the English "fire, in default of that from Heaven!" He made, however, a gallant defence.

The place being rendered utterly untenable, was surrendered to colonel Coote, on the 15th of January, 1761. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and a vast quantity of military stores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors [38].

In consequence of the taking of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the small settlement of Mahie, on the coast of Malabar, (by which it was immediately followed) the French power in the East was utterly subverted; and the English became in a manner masters of the whole commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from the point of the Carnatic to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, beside the almost exclusive trade of the rich and extensive provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, which in some measure owned their dominion.

This wonderful acquisition of trade and territory, added to the conquest of Canada and the possession of Senegal,

38. Id. ibid.

opened

opened to the subjects of Great Britain immense prospects of commercial advantage, as well as of future empire; of uniting the wealth of the southern to that of the northern regions of the earth; the spices and fine fabrics of Asia, with the gums and gold-dust of Africa, to the tar, turpentine, rice, indigo, tobacco, and beaver of North America. Yet were the people of England dissatisfied. They complained of the shameful inactivity of the navy, that nothing had lately been done by sea. And they affirmed, that the final conquest of Canada was the natural consequence of the success of last campaign; that a powerful armament, which had been detained at Portsmouth during the whole summer, with a view of making a diversion in favour of the Hanoverian army, was sufficiently strong to have reduced, in the present distressed circumstances of the inhabitants, not only Martinico, but all the remaining French islands in the West Indies; of more real value to a naval and commercial people than one half of the German empire. The dispute concerning the German war was renewed, and the folly of pursuing it exposed, with all the force of reasoning, and all the keenness of satire.

In the midst of these disputes, to which he was far from being inattentive, George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was suddenly taken ill on the twenty-fifth day of October, and expired almost instantly. His character is by no means complicated. Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. If his understanding was not very capacious, his judgment was sound; and if he had little of the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in perfection the œconomy of a prudent prince. Nor did that œconomy, though perhaps too minute for his exalted station, remarkably impair the splendour of his royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient to him. His fond attachment to German politics made the

early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold ſpirit with which he reſented the inſults offered to his crown; the readineſs with which he changed his miniſters, in compliance with the wiſhes of his people; and the brilliant conqueſts with which the latter years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his memory to the Engliſh nation.

The king of Great Britain was ſucceeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grandſon, George III. a young prince of an amiable diſpoſition, and of the moſt unblemiſhed manners. His firſt ſpeech to his parliament excited the higheſt hopes of a patriotic reign. "Born and educated in "this country, I glory," ſaid he, "in the name of BRI"TON!"—But before we enter upon the hiſtory of the reign of George III. it will be neceſſary to make a pauſe, and contemplate the ſtate of Europe at the death of George II.

LETTER XXXV.

State of EUROPE, *and the Progreſs of the War, in all Quarters of the Globe, carried forward from the Acceſſion of* GEORGE III. *to the Peace of* PARIS, *in* 1763.

GEORGE III. who ſucceeded to the crown of Great Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was univerſally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond diſpute the moſt powerful monarch in Europe. Supplies indeed, large beyond all political calculation of what they could poſſibly raiſe, had already been granted by his ſubjects; yet were they ſtill able and willing to raiſe more, in order to complete the humiliation of his and their enemies. It was however hoped by the body of the people, that a change of politics would take place; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer ſuffer the public treaſure to be ſquandered in penſions to foreign princes, under the name of ſubſidies, to enable them to fight their

own battles, nor the blood of the British soldiery spilt to water the forests and fertilize the plains of Germany. But how much soever the youthful sovereign might disapprove of the continental system, he could not immediately adopt new measures, without inflicting a direct censure upon the conduct of his venerable predecessor. Nor could he abruptly desert his German confederates, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the lustre of the British crown, and bringing into question the faith of the nation. He therefore declared in council, that as he ascended the throne in the midst of an *expensive* but *just* and *necessary war*, he would endeavour to *prosecute* that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in *concert* with his *allies*.

This declaration quieted the throbbing hearts of those allies; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, for supporting the war during the ensuing campaign (which amounted nearly to the immense sum of twenty millions sterling), astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the ouse of Austria were much wasted; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the former campaign; the army under prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men, every way well appointed; the Russians and Swedes seemed tired of a war in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage; the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish subjects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies were irretrievable; and her West India islands, she was sensible, must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A congress was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg, in the beginning of

A. D. 1761.

 April,

April, for ſettling the diſputes among the German powers; while the miniſters of France and England were appointed to negociate at London and Paris, in order to adjuſt the differences between the two crowns.

The congreſs at Augſburg never took place. But the negociation between France and England was formally opened, by Monſ. Buſſy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris; and was continued during the whole ſpring and ſummer, though ſeemingly with little ſincerity on either ſide. Things were not yet ripe for a general pacification, and a particular treaty could not be concluded between the two crowns, without ſacrifices of intereſt and fidelity, which neither was willing to make. Both were ſenſible of this; yet both profeſſed a ſtrong deſire of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of blood, and both had ſtrong reaſons for ſuch profeſſions.

The Britiſh miniſter found ſuch profeſſions neceſſary, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the farther proſecution of the German war, againſt which they began to revolt. And as he knew he durſt not propoſe to give up the conqueſts acquired by the Britiſh arms, in Africa, America, the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, to procure favourable terms for the German allies of his maſter, he on that ſide planted the bar of honour, which was to obſtruct the progreſs of the negociation, and finally to break it off; unleſs their affairs ſhould take a more advantageous turn, and enable him to reconcile the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia with the engagements of his Britannic majeſty. The French miniſters, in like manner, accommodated themſelves to their circumſtances. While they made the moſt humiliating conceſſions, in order to awaken in the neutral powers a jealouſy of the encroaching ſpirit of Great Britain, they inſiſted on certain ſtipulations, which they had reaſon to believe would not be admitted, and artfully attempted to involve the intereſts of France with thoſe of Spain. But the cauſe of the failure of this famous negociation will beſt be underſtood by particulars.

The councils of Madrid were now under French influence.

The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his laſt on the 10th of Auguſt 1759, was ſucceeded in the throne of Spain, by his brother, Don Carlos, king of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip ſhould have aſcended the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, have reverted to the houſe of Auſtria; ſaving certain proviſions made by the ſame treaty, in favour of the king of Sardinia. But as Don Carlos, now Charles III. of Spain, had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the Two Sicilies, by will, to his third ſon, Don Ferdinand, the ſecond being judged unfit for government, and the eldeſt deſigned for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. Don Philip acquieſced in this diſpoſition; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France permitted him to remain in poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, without putting in any claim to thoſe territories. The king of Sardinia was quieted with money.

Theſe good offices, added to the ties of blood, could not fail to have ſome effect upon the mind of his Catholic majeſty; and although he had hitherto obſerved a pretty exact neutrality, had been liberal in his profeſſions of friendſhip to Great Britain, France did not deſpair of being able to draw him into her views. She was ſenſible he could not behold with indifference the humiliation of the elder branch of the houſe of Bourbon, or the rapid progreſs of the Britiſh arms in America. The laſt more eſpecially excited his jealouſy.

The Spaniſh empire in America, if that of France ſhould be annihilated, Charles III. foreſaw muſt in a manner lie at the mercy of England, as no power would remain, in caſe of a conteſt between the two crowns, able to hold the balance in the New World. This reaſonable jealouſy, rouſed in the courſe of the negociation, by the intrigues of the court of Verſailles, and blown into a flame by the arrogance of the Britiſh miniſter, induced the Spaniſh monarch to ſeek refuge in that grand FAMILY COMPACT, ſo long and ſo ardently deſired by France; an ambitious league, which has already been

been attended with the moſt alarming conſequences, and which may one day prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, unleſs another is formed to counteract its force.

But it will be proper, before I inveſtigate the principles of the Family Compact, to trace the leading ſteps of the negociation between France and England, which immediately produced it. The firſt propoſal of the court of Verſailles was, "That the two crowns ſhall remain in poſſeſſion of what they have conquered one from the other:" and as France had aſſuredly been the greateſt loſer, ſuch a propoſition from that haughty power, appeared to the more diſpaſſionate part of the Britiſh miniſtry, an inſtance of ſingular moderation, if not humility. A better foundation of treaty could not poſſibly be offered. But the great commoner, who directed all things, did not treat this propoſition with that attention which its apparent fairneſs deſerved.

It had already been intimated by the duke de Choiſeul, the French miniſter, "That the ſituation in which they ſhall "ſtand at certain periods, ſhall be the poſition to ſerve as a "baſis for the treaty that is to be concluded between the "two powers." And he proceeded to ſettle the periods; namely, the firſt of May in Europe, the firſt of July in Africa and the Weſt Indies, and the firſt of September in the Eaſt Indies; obſerving, at the ſame time, That as thoſe periods might ſeem too near or too diſtant for the intereſts of Great Britain, the court of Verſailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that ſubject. Mr. Pitt, however, haughtily declared, That his Britannic majeſty would admit of no other epoch but that of "the ſigning of the "peace."

To this blunt and ſingular declaration the court of Verſailles replied, with that coolneſs and temper which ought to govern all ſuch tranſactions, "That if not *thoſe*, already named, at leaſt *ſome fixed periods*, during the war, ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti poſſidetis*, or mutual retaining of poſſeſſions, could not reaſonably have reference *only* to the

time of *figning* the *peace*." For if the contrary principle fhould be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guefs at the value of the poffeffions that might be given away, as it could not poffibly be afcertained what might in the interval, be loft or gained. And if thefe difficulties occurred, it was added, in the fimplicity of a poffeffory article, they muft be increafed ten-fold upon every other, and would come to fuch a height, as to preclude all poffibility of negociation, on things of fo intricate a nature as changes and equivalents [1].

This difpute occafioned delay, and afforded the French miniftry, if they had been fo difpofed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negociation. In the mean time hoftilities were every where carried on as if no fuch negociation had fubfifted. But the campaign was diftinguifhed by few memorable events.

The war which had been carried on fo long and fo fruitlefsly in Weftphalia, at an immenfe expence, was as indecifive as ever. For although prince Ferdinand, by taking the field in the month of February, gained feveral advantages over the French, who are little fitted for a winter campaign, the duke de Broglio obliged him to abandon all the places he had taken or invefted before the firft of April; to raife the blockade of Ziegenhayn and the fiege of Caffel, to expofe anew the landgraviate of Heffe, and retire behind the Dymel.

Broglio having afterward paffed the Dymel, and formed a junction with the French army under Soubife, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, attacked the allies at the village of Kirch Denkern, on the 16th of July, but was repulfed with the lofs of five thoufand men, killed or made prifoners [2]. In confequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army toward Hammelin, was enabled to fecure

1. Account of the Negociation publifhed by the Court of France, and tacitly admitted by that of England.

2. Lond. *Gazette*, July 23, 1761.

the courſe of the Weſer, and to protect the electorate of Hanover, notwithſtanding the ſuperior force of the enemy. But he had the mortification to ſee them ravage Weſtphalia, and Eaſt-Frieſland.

The king of Pruſſia, ſeemingly fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and mortified by indeciſive victories, acted ſolely on the defenſive; he himſelf taking poſt in Sileſia, and his brother Henry in Saxony. Yet this defenſive campaign was not more exempt from misfortune than thoſe in which he moſt freely indulged the ardour of his genius. The Auſtrians took Schweidnitz by ſurpriſe, and the Ruſſians made themſelves maſters of Colberg. By the loſs of theſe two important places, the illuſtrious Frederick found himſelf in a worſe ſituation than at the cloſe of any former ſeaſon of action. The Ruſſians wintered in Pomerania, and the Auſtrians in Sileſia.

Theſe events were little ſuitable to the haughty tone of the Engliſh miniſter, in his negociation with France. But ſeveral actions happened at ſea between ſingle ſhips and ſmall ſquadrons, greatly to the honour of the Britiſh flag. And a naval armament, which had excited the higheſt hopes while its deſtination remained unknown, was prepared early in the ſeaſon, and crowned with ſignal ſucceſs.

The object of this armament, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, under commodore Keppel, and near ten thouſand land-forces, commanded by major-general Hodgſon, was Belleiſle on the coaſt of France. Before that iſland, which lies within four leagues of the point of Tiberoon, between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, and is about twelve leagues in circumference, the Britiſh fleet appeared on the ſeventh of April. A deſcent was immediately attempted at three different places, but without effect. The invaders were repulſed, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, with the loſs of five hundred men. They were not however diſcouraged, but reſolutely perſevered in their purpoſe. At length the troops, ſurmounting every obſtacle, made good their

April 25.

their landing; drove the enemy from their lines before Palais the capital of the ifland; entered the town fword in hand, and obliged the garrifon to take refuge in the citadel. That fortrefs, built by the famous Vauban, and defended by three thoufand men, under the chevalier de St. Croix, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been invefted about fix weeks, and a practicable breach made in the works, St. Croix, feeing no profpect of relief, judged it prudent to capitulate, in order to avoid the danger of an affault: and the whole ifland fubmitted to his Britannic majefty [3].

June 7.

The taking of Belleifle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expreffion of triumph and tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the Englifh populace, was no fmall mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Weftphalia, in order to defend their own coafts, and by that means to enable prince Ferdinand to ftrike fome decifive blow; and the ifland itfelf, which is, literally fpeaking, a barren rock, being found to have no harbour for fhips of force, the chief circumftance that could make it valuable to Great Britain, the poffeffion of it was thought by the more intelligent part of the nation, dearly purchafed with the lives of two thoufand brave men, befide an immenfe expenditure of naval and military ftores. The miniftry, however, reprefented it as a place of great importance, from its pofition, while they highly and juftly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it. Yet, as this conqueft had not been attended with the expected confequences, and as no other enterprife was planned from which any important advantage could be expected during the fummer, Mr. Pitt condefcended to name certain epochs, to which the reciprocal holding of poffeffions, fhould refer, and the negociation with France was refumed.

3. Lond. *Gazette*, April 30, and June 14, 1761.

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The epochs named by the Britiſh miniſter were, the firſt of Auguſt for Europe, the firſt of September for Africa and America, the firſt of November for the Eaſt Indies. To theſe epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearneſs, as ſhe had now hopes of acquiring ſome important advantage in Weſtphalia before the cloſe of the campaign. She alſo agreed, That every thing ſettled between the two crowns, relative to their particular diſputes, ſhould be finally concluſive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congreſs to be held at Augſburg, for ſettling the diſputes of Germany. And ſhe farther agreed, That the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpoſe, ſhould be ſigned and ratified before the firſt of next Auguſt.

France even gave up the point of honour, and made frankly an offer of what places ſhe was willing to cede and exchange; namely, in her final anſwer, (after certain difficulties had been removed, and certain claims relinquiſhed) to guaranty Canada to England, in the utmoſt extent required, including as dependencies the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; to demoliſh Dunkirk, provided the right of fiſhing and drying fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland ſhall be confirmed to her; to reſtore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; to evacuate Heſſe, Hanau, and Gottingen, provided one ſettlement in Africa ſhould be guarantied to her for the convenience of the Negro trade; to remit the ſettlement of affairs in the Eaſt Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in poſſeſſion of Belleiſle, until ſome equivalent ſhall be offered and accepted. But ſhe perſiſted in demanding the reſtitution of the trading veſſels taken before the declaration of war, and obſtinately refuſed to give up Weſel and Gueldres which ſhe had conquered from the king of Pruſſia.

England, with no leſs obſtinacy, refuſed to reſtore the diſputed captures, yet inſiſted on the reſtitution of thoſe two places. Nor would the Britiſh miniſter, aſtoniſhing as it

may ſeem, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He rejected the propoſal with diſdain as an inſult upon the national honour; though it would certainly have been more eaſy for Great Britain, and no leſs honourable to mediate, or even purchaſe a peace for the king of Pruſſia, in the congreſs at Augſburg, than to enable him to continue the ſtruggle for Sileſia, and defend his widely ſeparated dominions againſt France, Sweden, Auſtria, Ruſſia, and the Army of the Empire. On this romantic idea, however, and the other two contentious points, the negociation between France and England was finally broken off, when it ſeemed ready to terminate in a ſolid peace, and after it had been protracted conſiderably beyond the term fixed for ſigning the treaty.

Sept. 20.

A rupture with Spain it was readily foreſeen, would be the immediate conſequence of the failure of this treaty, as the failure itſelf had been partly occaſioned by the ſuſpicions of a ſecret underſtanding between the French and Spaniſh miniſters. The poiſonous inſinuations of the court of Verſailles had now produced their full effect upon the mind of Charles III. This ſufficiently appeared in the courſe of the foregoing negociation. The French miniſter, along with his memorial of propoſitions (dated the 15th of July), had preſented to the court of London, a private memorial, ſignifying the deſire of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, That, in order to eſtabliſh the peace upon ſolid foundations, not to be ſhaken by the conteſted intereſts of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guaranty the treaty between the two crowns, and he propoſed, with the conſent and communication of his Catholic majeſty, That the three points in diſpute between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, ſhould be finally ſettled in this negociation; namely, the reſtitution of ſome ſhips taken in the courſe of the preſent war under Spaniſh colours; the liberty claimed by the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain

ſettlements

ſettlements made, contrary to treaty, by the Engliſh log-wood-cutters in the bay of Honduras.

The Britiſh miniſter read this memorial with ſurpriſe and indignation, and declared on returning it, with that dignity and even haughtineſs peculiar to his character, That his Britannic majeſty would not ſuffer the diſputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negociation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be conſidered as an affront, and a thing incompatible with the ſincerity of the negociation on the part of France, to make any farther mention of ſuch a circumſtance. He at the ſame time called upon the Spaniſh miniſter, to diſavow the propoſition which had been ſaid to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing a propoſal for accommodating diſputes between friends coming through the medium of an enemy! to find points of ſo much conſequence offered for deliberation by a French envoy, when his Catholic majeſty had an ambaſſador reſiding in London, from whom no intimation of ſuch buſineſs had been received!

The court of Verſailles condeſcended to make an apology for having propoſed a diſcuſſion of the points in diſpute with Spain; but the Spaniſh ambaſſador openly avowed and juſtified the ſtep taken by the French envoy, as entirely conformable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He declared, That the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but thoſe of mutual intereſt. He applauded the humanity and magnanimity of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in ſeeking to render the peace as permanent as the viciſſitude of human affairs would permit; and he haughtily added, That, if governed by any other principles, his Catholic majeſty, "conſulting only his greatneſs, would have ſpoken "from himſelf and as became his dignity [4]."

The meaning of this declaration could not poſſibly be miſ-

4. *Papers* relative to the Negociation with France, and the Diſpute with Spain, publiſhed by Authority.

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underſtood. It evidently appeared, from the moſt liberal interpretation of the words, that Spain, as a kind of party, was made acquainted with every ſtep taken in the negociation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the propoſition, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between the courts of Verſailles and Madrid.

A firm conviction of this, is ſaid to have been the cauſe of that arrogance, bordering upon inſult, with which Mr. Pitt henceforth treated the propoſals of France, and which completed the views of the court of Verſailles. The Family Compact was ſigned on the 15th of Auguſt. From that moment, the French miniſter changed his tone; and the negociation with England was broken off, as already related, leſs from any diſagreement between the two courts on important points, than their ſeeming obſtinacy in maintaining pretended points of honour.

In the mean time, orders had been ſent to the earl of Briſtol, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, to remonſtrate, with energy and firmneſs, on the daring interpoſition of Spain in the negociation between France and England, and to demand a declaration of her final intentions; to adhere to the negative put upon the Spaniſh pretenſions; to fiſh upon the banks of Newfoundland; to reſt the article of diſputed captures on the juſtice of the Engliſh tribunals; to continue the former profeſſions of the court of London, indicating a deſire of an amicable adjuſtment of the logwood diſpute, and the willingneſs of his Britannic majeſty to cauſe the ſettlements on the coaſt of Honduras to be evacuated, as ſoon as his Catholic majeſty ſhould ſuggeſt another method by which the Britiſh ſubjects could enjoy that traffic, to which they had a right by treaty, and which the court of Madrid had farther confirmed to them by repeated promiſes.

Mr. Wall, the Spaniſh miniſter, applauded the magnanimity of the king of Great Britain, in not ſuffering France to

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be appealed to, as a tribunal, in his diſputes with Spain. In the propoſition made, with the conſent of his court, he declared that things had not been conſidered in that light; and he aſked, Whether it could be imagined in England, that the Catholic king was ſeeking to provoke Great Britain to war in her moſt flouriſhing and exalted condition, and after ſuch a series of proſperous events as never perhaps occurred in the annals of any other kingdom? But he refuſed to give up any of the three points in diſpute, and owned that the moſt perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the courts of France and Spain; that in conſequence of that harmony, the moſt Chriſtian king had offered to aſſiſt his Catholic majeſty, in caſe the diſpute between Great Britain and Spain ſhould terminate in a rupture, and that this offer was conſidered in a friendly light.

A declaration leſs explicit would have been ſufficient to convince a miniſter of Pitt's diſcernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He accordingly declared in council, That we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as ſpirit to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; that, if any war could provide its own reſources, it muſt be a war with Spain; that her ſupplies lay at a diſtance, and might be eaſily intercepted and cut off, as we were already maſters of the ſea; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which ſhe had great dependence, was not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once ſtrengthen our hands and diſable hers. Such a bold but neceſſary ſtep, he added, would be a leſſon to his Catholic majeſty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to preſume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain.

The tranſcendent dignity of this ſentiment, ſo far exceeding the comprehenſion of ordinary minds, appeared in the form of ſhocking violence, or wild extravagance, to the majority of the council. They admitted, That we ought not to be frightened from aſſerting our reaſonable demands, by

the menaces of any power; but they affirmed, at the ſame time, that this deſire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilſt the ſprings of government were already overſtrained, was ill ſuited to our national ſtrength; that to ſhun war upon a juſt occaſion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madneſs; that if Spain, miſled by the councils of France, ſhould enter in a more deciſive manner into the views of that hoſtile court, it would then be early enough to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced, that we acted with as much temper as reſolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom was ſatisfied, that he was not hurried into the hazards and expences of war from an idea of romantic heroiſm, but from unavoidable neceſſity, and would chearfully contribute to the ſupport of an adminiſtration which, though firm and reſolute, was afraid alike to waſte the national treaſure wantonly or employ it unjuſtly.

Theſe arguments, though plauſible, had no weight with Mr. Pitt. He conſidered them as the timid councils of ſhortſighted caution, or the captious objections of narrow-minded and ſelfiſh politicians, envious of his greatneſs, and indifferent to their country's welfare. Giving full ſcope to his pride and patriotiſm, he therefore warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon! and if the glorious opportunity is let ſlip, we ſhall in vain look for another. Their united power, if ſuffered to gather ſtrength, will baffle our moſt vigorous efforts, and poſſibly plunge us in the gulf of ruin. We muſt not allow them a moment to breathe: ſelf-preſervation bids us cruſh them, before they can combine or recollect themſelves."*

Mr. Pitt in the ſame council raſhly declared, if he could not carry ſo ſalutary a meaſure, this was the laſt time he ſhould ſit at that board. "I was called to the adminiſtration of public affairs," added he haughtily, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always conſidered myſelf as accountable for my conduct; and, therefore, cannot remain

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in a *ſituation* which makes me *reſponſible* for *meaſures* I am *no longer* allowed to *guide*." The ſagacious earl Granville, preſident of the council, coolly replied, "The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot ſay I am ſorry for it, as he would otherwiſe have compelled us to leave him; for if he is determined to aſſume ſolely the right of adviſing his majeſty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpoſe are *we* here aſſembled?" On a diviſion, the miniſter himſelf, and his brother-in-law lord Temple, were the only members of the council who voted for an immediate declaration of war againſt Spain.

Pitt, conformable to his declared reſolution, carried the ſeals of his office to the king; although not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be deſired to retain them. But royal favour had, by this time, begun to flow into new channels. Oct. 5.

The earl of Bute claimed a large ſhare of that favour. He had been much about the perſon of George III. before his acceſſion to the throne; and beſide the pleaſure of having partly formed the mind of the heir apparent to the Britiſh crown, he had the particular ſatisfaction in ſo doing of diſcharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of his majeſty's father, Frederick prince of Wales, whoſe friendſhip and confidence he enjoyed in a very high degree, along with Mr. Pitt and other reputed patriots. Soon after the death of George II. this nobleman was appointed ſecretary for the northern department: and he now expected, in conſequence of the diviſions in the privy council, and the affection of his royal maſter, to ſeize the reins of government. The duke of Newcaſtle, and other miniſters of the late king, who had found themſelves over-ſhadowed by the ſuperior abilities of the great commoner, alſo wiſhed his removal; and as HE, the favourite of the people, had found it neceſſary to form a coalition with them, and to flatter the political prejudices of his aged ſovereign, in order more effectually to ſerve his country, and gratify his own boundleſs ambition, THEY, in

in hopes of recovering their consequence, yielded in like manner a temporary support to the earl of Bute, supposed to be the bosom favourite of the youthful monarch.

The king, therefore, received the seals from Mr. Pitt with ease and dignity. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears [5]. This was the time for conciliation between the powerful sovereign and his *greatest* subject, if the highest ability to serve the state, although inferior to many in rank and fortune, can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king chose to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation; settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a-year, for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady; he himself declining the honour of nobility, but willing that it should descend to his offspring.

No change in the British ministry ever occasioned so much alarm as the resignation of Mr. Pitt. It seemed equal to a revolution in the government. As the nation, under his administration, had been raised from despondency and disgrace, to the highest degree of glory, triumph, and exultation, the most serious apprehensions were entertained, by the body of the people, that it might again sink into the same state of depression, and be overwhelmed by its numerous enemies, since his all-inspiring genius no longer directed its councils; or that an inglorious peace would be patched up, in order to avert the dangers of a new war.

But this alarm was soon quieted by the vigorous measures of the new ministry, and the address with which their emissaries drew off the veil from the imperfections of the late

5. Account of Mr. Pitt's *Resignation*, &c. as published by the two parties.

secretary,

ſecretary, whoſe reputation as a patriot as well as a ſtateſman they endeavoured to deſtroy. They keenly expoſed his inconſiſtency, and called in queſtion his polical ſagacity, in ſo warmly entering into the German conteſt, againſt which he had formerly ſo vehemently and ſo juſtly declaimed. They blamed his ſhameful prodigality, in expending ſo much of the national treaſure in fruitleſs expeditions to the coaſt of France, inſtead of directing them againſt the remaining French iſlands in the Weſt Indies; and his inexcuſable negligence, in not ordering general Amherſt to enter Louiſiana, which might eaſily have been conquered, during the laſt campaign, without ſending any additional force to America. And they maintained, with ſome appearance of reaſon, that his reſignation diſcovered more pride than patriotiſm. But when they attempted to aſcribe all the ſucceſs of his meaſures to mere chance, and to turn into ridicule his moſt laudable enterprizes, the ſentiments of the people revolted againſt the inſult offered to their underſtanding. And all ſincere lovers of their country, whatever might be their opinion of his principles, lamented the loſs of ſo able and popular a miniſter at ſo dangerous a criſis; while his friends entered zealouſly into a vindication of his whole conduct, and ſeverely reprobated the inſidious arts of his unworthy colleagues, who had obliged him to quit the helm of ſtate, by thwarting him in his favourite meaſure, and irritating a temper naturally too hot, and a ſpirit which they knew could not brook controul.

In changing opinion upon farther experience and good grounds, they ingeniouſly obſerved, there was no inconſiſtency; that all men are liable to error and miſtake; and that whatever might have been Mr. Pitt's original opinion of the policy of engaging in the German war, the propoſal of neutrality in regard to that war, made by France, in the late negociation, was an irrefragable proof that ſhe did not think herſelf a gainer by the continental conteſt, and conſequently juſtified his purſuing it; that the expeditions to the coaſt of France,

France though attended with few immediate and positive advantages, had distracted the councils and the measures of the enemy, at the same time that they roused the spirit of the English nation, and had eventually made us victorious in every quarter of the globe; that this spirit, having borne down all resistance in America and the East Indies, was now to have been directed against the remaining French islands in the West Indies, a formidable armament being actually ready to sail for those latitudes; and, if Mr. Pitt had been allowed to commence hostilities immediately against Spain, there was the utmost reason to believe, that we should soon have been in possession not only of Martinico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, but of the mines of Mexico and Peru. In reply, the friends of administration affirmed, That instead of atchieving new conquests, he was no longer able to act; that having exhausted the resources of the kingdom, and drawn upon it new enemies, he had deserted his station at the helm, and left the vessel of state to sink or swim amid the storm he had raised [6].

These disputes, and their anxiously expected issue, engaged the attention of all Europe. The German allies of Great Britain flattered themselves that the seals would be restored to Mr. Pitt, and expressed their apprehensions of the injury which the common cause might suffer by his resignation; while the Bourbon courts indulged a hope, that his exclusion from the administration would be perpetual, and represented the failure of the late promising negociation, between France and England, as solely the effect of his arrogance.

The French ministry went yet farther. They indrustriously circulated the news of a secret treaty between France and Spain, into which they had been driven by the domineering temper of the English secretary. By this alarming in-

6. Publications of the Times.

telligence, they presumed that they should be able to frighten the new ministers of George III. into a treaty of peace on their own terms, or at least to deter them from declaring war against Spain, until her preparations were completed, when such a measure would be equally agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid. But they were unacquainted with the character of the men whom they meant to intimidate; so that their vain-glorious boasting produced an effect directly opposite to that for which it was intended.

The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, or of utterly forfeiting the confidence of the people, had already, with the consent of his colleagues, instructed the British ambassador at Madrid to act with firmness, and now ordered him to require an account of the purport of this vaunted treaty. But all the answer which the earl of Bristol could obtain was, "That his Catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his *Family Compact* with the most Christian king." And as the nature of the present, or the existence of any preceding compact, was then unknown to the English ministry, and to all foreign nations, our ambassador was directed to demand a satisfactory explanation on the subject, and to signify, that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war on the part of Spain. The pride of the Spanish nation was rouzed, and the earl of Bristol was told, "That the "spirit of haughtiness, which dictated this demand, had "made the declaration of war in attacking the king's dig-"nity!" And he was given to understand, that he might return to England when, and in what manner he thought proper.

In consequence of this answer, the earl of Bristol immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde de Fuentes left London. Before his departure, however, the Spanish ambassador delivered to the earl of Egremont a paper in the form of a manifesto, apparently calculated to distract the British

councils, by fostering the spirit of faction, already too prevalent in the nation. In that paper, after insisting much on the insolence of the late English minister, and the little management with which the court of Madrid had been treated since his resignation, he affirmed, That if the purport of the secret treaty had been desired in a manner less offensive to the dignity of the Catholic king, it might as easily have been obtained as it could have been justified, as it contained merely a reciprocal guaranty of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, with this particular restriction (seemingly thrown in to blind the British ministry), that it should extend only to the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war[7].

But the fundamental articles of the treaty will furnish the best answer to that manifesto, and best explain the nature of the FAMILY COMPACT. By these it was stipulated, That the subjects of the several branches of the house of Bourbon shall be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of the same privileges and immunities over all their European dominions, as those enjoyed by natural born subjects in the countries of their particular sovereigns. The direct trade to America forms the only material exception to this singular community of interests. Nor is the political union made less intimate than the civil.

The kings of France and Spain agree to look upon every power as their common enemy, which becomes the enemy of either; that war declared against the one shall be regarded as personal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces, and observe the most perfect concert in their military operations. And they formally stipulate, That they will not make, or even listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as

7. Printed Manifesto.

well

well as of war, "each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages; and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power." The king of Spain contracts for the king of the Two Sicilies the obligations imposed by this treaty; and the three monarchs engage "to "support, on all occasions, the dignity and rights of their "royal house, and those of the princes descended from it [8]."

To the boundless extent of these political stipulations, there is but one restriction; namely, that Spain shall not be bound to succour France, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the North; "unless some *maritime power* takes part in those "wars, or France be attacked by land in her own country [9]." This exception of the Maritime Powers forms a key to the whole confederacy; as it shews, in the most satisfactory manner, against what power that confederacy is chiefly directed. It points out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with Great Britain is the principal circumstance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain; and to Great Britain, that her humiliation is the grand object of the Family Compact.

This compact, which seems at length to have produced that intimate union between the French and Spanish monarchies, so much dreaded at the beginning of the present century, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, (and which, as we have seen, it was the object of the Partition Treaties and the war of the Grand Alliance to prevent,) this compact would of itself have been sufficient, as soon as its true purport was known, to justify Great Britain in declaring war against Spain; a power so intimately connected with her principal enemy, that it was become im-

8. Abstract of the *Family Compact*, published by the court of France.

9. Ibid.

 possible

possible to distinguish the one from the other. And, after the steps that had been already taken, such a measure was now rendered unavoidable. Mutual declarations of war were accordingly issued by the courts of London and Madrid, in the beginning of the year; and the greatest preparations were made by both, for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect.

A. D. 1762.

Never had Great Britain seen herself in so perilous a situation as the present. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was fallen upon to engage her in a new land war; and, by that means, finally to exhaust her resources, and divert her attention from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal; a great political stroke, which naturally leads us to take a view of the state of that kingdom.

As Portugal, in some measure, owes to England the perfect recovery of her independency, and the family of Braganza their full establishment on the throne of that kingdom, the closest friendship has ever since subsisted between the two crowns. In consequence of this mutual friendship, founded on mutual interest, England gave a preference in her ports to the wines of Portugal above those of other countries: and obtained, in return for such indulgence, many exclusive privileges in her trade with that kingdom, of which she was considered to be the guardian. Envious of those commercial advantages, and sensible that England would not tamely relinquish them, whatever might be the disposition of his most Faithful Majesty, France suggested to Spain the invasion of Portugal; as the most effectual means of distress-

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ing their common enemy, if not of extending the dominions of the houſe of Bourbon.

The conqueſt of Portugal, indeed, ſeemed no diſtant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, repoſing in the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich productions of Brazil (where gold and diamonds are found in great abundance, and where the moſt luxuriant crops of rice and ſugar may be raiſed almoſt without culture), the Portugueſe had laid aſide all attention to their internal defence. A long peace had utterly extinguiſhed the martial ſpirit among them; and notwithſtanding the increaſe of their reſources, they had ſuffered their army inſenſibly to moulder away. That part of it which remained, was without diſcipline and without officers, and the fortreſſes on the frontiers were in no ſtate of defence.

Nor were theſe the only circumſtances favourable to the views of the houſe of Bourbon. Before Portugal had recovered from the ſhock of the earthquake that laid Liſbon in ruins, it experienced a civil convulſion of the moſt dangerous kind. This was a conſpiracy againſt the life of Joſeph, the reigning ſovereign, and the fifth king of the houſe of Braganza. Leſs ſuperſtitious than moſt of his predeceſſors, he had baniſhed the Jeſuits from his court; becauſe their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as ſovereigns, had oppoſed the ceſſion of certain territories, which he had exchanged with the king of Spain. He had alſo ſpirit and reſolution to repreſs the encroachments of the Portugueſe nobles, and to diſconcert the ambitious views of the duke d'Aviero, ſuppoſed to have a deſign upon the crown.

This nobleman, enraged at his diſappointment in a favourite matrimonial alliance, by which he hoped to extend his political influence, entered into intrigues with the heads of the diſſatiſfied Jeſuits; namely Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, formerly confeſſors to the royal family. They encouraged him in his purpoſe of deſtroying the king, and engaged in his conſpiracy the Tavora family, the moſt an-

cient and powerful in the kingdom, alſo diſguſted with the court. The conſpiracy failed, contrary to all human probability; and when it was ſo near taking effect, that the king was dangerouſly wounded, by a ſhot through the back of his carriage in the neighbourhood of Liſbon, on the night of the third of September, 1758. He ſaved his life by returning to his country houſe, inſtead of proceeding to the capital, in his way to which he would have been attacked by new aſſaſſins [10]. The principal conſpirators were ſeized, and executed in the beginning of the year 1759, and the Jeſuits of all deſcriptions were baniſhed the kingdom. But the diſcontents among the nobility remained. The clergy were not in a better humour. The pope had reſented the expulſion of the Jeſuits; and the body of the people, enſlaved by the moſt blind ſuperſtition, made light of allegiance to a ſovereign at enmity with the Holy See.

Such was the ſtate of the kingdom of Portugal, when the Spaniſh forces marched toward its defenceleſs frontiers, and the miniſters of France and Spain preſented to the court of Liſbon a joint memorial, (the firſt fruits of the Family Compact) in order to perſuade his moſt Faithful Majeſty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their ſcheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial, they inſiſted largely on the tyranny exerciſed by England over all other powers (but eſpecially in maritime affairs), and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common intereſt to oppoſe. And they concluded with declaring, That as ſoon as his moſt Faithful Majeſty had taken his reſolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garriſon the fortreſſes of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwiſe be expoſed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial, the two

10. *Account* of this *Conſpiracy*, publiſhed by the court of Liſbon.

miniſters

ministers added, That they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The king of Portugal's situation was now truly critical, and deserving of compassion. If, contrary to the established connections of his crown, its supposed interests, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brazil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally, and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English navy. Nor was this the worst. Having admitted garrisons into his principal places of strength, the implied condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily lay his account with being reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his independency, an army of sixty thousand Spaniards was ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province.

The firmness of the king of Portugal, on this trying occasion, is highly worthy of admiration. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, That his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects; that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from taking part in an offensive war; into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was purely defensive, or entirely innocent: and for this astonishing reason, That the defensive alliance is converted into an offensive one, "from the *situation* of the Portuguese dominions, and the *nature* of the English power!"—The

English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruize on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal. "Nor," added they, "could those haughty islanders insult all the maritime powers "of Europe, if the riches of Portugal did not pass into their "hands." And after endeavouring to awaken the jealousy of his most Faithful Majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England, they insultingly told him, That he ought to be thankful for "the NECESSITY which "they had laid upon him to make *use* of his *reason*, in order "to *take* the *road* of his *glory*, and *embrace* the *common in-"terest*[11]!"

Although the king of Portugal was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable resolution. The treaties of league and commerce, subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, the laws of nature, and the laws of nations, have always deemed innocent. And he entreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great Britain; and to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there was an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have entered into defensive alliances with the powers at war; that if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and those of his allies. And he concluded with declaring, That he would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than sa-

11. Printed *Papers*, published by *authority*.

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crifice the honour or the independency of his crown, and afford to ambitious princes, in his ſubmiſſion, a pretext for invading the ſacred rights of neutrality [12].

In conſequence of this magnanimous declaration, the miniſters of France and Spain immediately left Liſbon. And their departure was ſoon followed by a joint denunciation of war againſt Portugal, in the name of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties. His Britannic majeſty could not view with indifference the danger of his faithful ally, who depended upon him for ſupport, nor prudently avoid acting with vigour in his defence. He accordingly ſent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, proviſions, and near ten thouſand land forces. April 27.

By the help of theſe additional troops, the enterpriſing valour of the Britiſh officers, and the ſkilful conduct of the count de la Lippe (a German general that had acted with ability under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and now commanded the Portugueſe army) the Spaniards, who had paſſed the mountains in three diviſions; taken ſeveral places; and confidently hoped ſoon to become maſters of the whole kingdom, found themſelves under the neceſſity of abandoning their conqueſts, and evacuating Portugal before the cloſe of the campaign [13]. In this ſervice, brigadier-general Burgoyne, who commanded the Britiſh troops, bore a diſtinguiſhed part.

Nor did the attention of Great Britain to the ſafety of Portugal diminiſh her exertions or her ſucceſs in Weſtphalia. There the French had reſolved to make the moſt powerful efforts; while the Spaniards, in order to divide our ſtrength, ſhould enter the dominions of his moſt Faithful Majeſty. Their plan of operations was nearly the ſame as formerly, but they had changed their generals. Broglio was diſgraced, through the intrigues of the prince de Soubiſe, who now commanded the army on the Weſer, in conjunction with

12. Ibid. 13. Lond. *Gazette*, paſſim.

marefchal

mareſchal d'Etrees; and that on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé.

The diſpoſition of the allies was not more varied. The hereditary prince was poſted in the biſhopric of Munſter, with a ſtrong detachment, to obſerve the motions of the prince of Condé; and prince Ferdinand lay behind the Dymel, with the main body, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the grand French army; to prevent it from entering the electorate of Hanover, and if poſſible to recover the landgraviate of Heſſe.

The firſt ſervice prince Ferdinand performed effectually. He obliged the enemy to abandon Gottingen, the only place which they poſſeſſed in the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, and which they had fortified at great expence. He gained ſeveral advantages over them; particularly in the actions at Graebenſtein, Homburg, and Melſungen; where the Britiſh troops under the marquis of Granby acquired ſignal honour[14]. He reduced Caſel, in preſence of the three French generals, notwithſtanding a defeat which the hereditary prince had ſuffered from the prince of Condé at Johaneſberg; and he was preparing to beſiege Ziegenhayn, the laſt place that remained to the enemy in the landgraviate of Heſſe, when he received intelligence of the ceſſation of hoſtilities.

While prince Ferdinand was thus exerting himſelf in Weſtphalia, with a degree of ſpirit which made his enemies inſinuate, that he had hitherto protracted the war, in order to enjoy its emoluments, the fortune of the king of Pruſſia wore a variety of appearances, in conſequence of certain great and ſingular revolutions in the affairs of the North.

At the cloſe of laſt campaign, we have ſeen the Auſtrians in poſſeſſion of Schweidnitz, the key of Sileſia, and the Ruſſians maſters of Colberg, and wintering in Pomerania; ſo that the dominions of his Pruſſian majeſty, whoſe forces

14. Lond. *Gazette*, June 28, et ſeq.

were much cut down, lay entirely at the mercy of his enemies, who were now in a ſituation to begin their operations more early than formerly, as well as to ſuſtain them with more vigour and concert. A complete victory, an event by no means probable, did not ſeem ſufficient to ſave him from utter ruin; when the tremendous ſtorm, ready to burſt upon his head, was happily diſſipated, by one of thoſe ſudden and extraordinary changes in human affairs, which inſtantly decide the fate of nations; outſtrip all human foreſight, and confound the reaſonings of the wiſeſt politicians.

Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, ſecond daughter of Peter the Great, having died in the beginning of the year, was ſucceeded in the auguſt throne by her nephew, the duke of Holſtein, under the name of Peter III. As they who were moſt intimately acquainted with the ſentiments of the new Czar only could conjecture, whether he would purſue or abandon the political ſyſtem of his predeceſſor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiouſly turned toward the court of Peterſburg, in order to obſerve the direction of his early councils. He began his reign with regulating, on the moſt generous principles, his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all ſlaviſh vaſſalage, and put them on a footing with thoſe of the ſame rank in other European countries. He aboliſhed the private chancery, a kind of ſtate-inquiſition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and extending his benign polity to his ſubjects of all conditions, he leſſened the taxes upon certain neceſſaries of life, to the great relief of the poor [15].

The ſame mild ſpirit, which dictated the civil regulations of this prince, ſeemed to extend itſelf to his foreign politics. He ordered a memorial to be delivered, in the month of February, to the miniſters of his allies, in which he declared, That, in order to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to ſacrifice all the conqueſts made by the arms of

15. *Regulations* publiſhed by the court of Peterſburgh.

Ruſſia

Ruſſia daring the war; in hopes, "That the allied courts will, on their parts, alſo prefer the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, to the *advantages* which they might *expect* from the *continuance* of hoſtilities—but which they cannot obtain, unleſs by a *continuation* of the *effuſion* of *human blood* [16]!"

This declaration, however, was not made merely from motives of humanity. Beſide an extravagant admiration of the character of the king of Pruſſia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleſwick, to which he had pretenſions as duke of Holſtein. He therefore ordered a ceſſation of arms, on receiving an unſatisfactory anſwer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Verſailles; and he entered, ſoon after, into an alliance with the illuſtrious Frederick, without ſtipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to thoſe of his new ally, in order to drive the Auſtrians out of Sileſia, while he commanded another army to march toward Holſtein. Sweden followed the example of Ruſſia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The king of Pruſſia did not fail to profit by this great revolution in his favour. That load of power which had ſo long oppreſſed him, and againſt which he had borne up with ſuch unexampled fortitude, being now much lightened, he was again enabled to indulge the ardour of his genius, and to act with vigour againſt his remaining enemies. His firſt object was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulſion of the Auſtrians out of Sileſia. And in the attainment of theſe important ends, he was greatly aſſiſted by the valour and military ſkill of his brother, who gained a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts near Freyberg in Saxony.

May 12.

In conſequence of this victory, prince Henry remained ſo fully maſter of Saxony, that the Auſtrians found it neceſſary to withdraw a body of troops from their armies in Sileſia, in

16. Printed *Memorial*.

order to prevent his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Marefchal Daun, however, with a large army, ftill occupied certain eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that city. The king of Pruffia refolved to force him to abandon thofe pofts. And he fucceeded; though not by a direct attack, which he found to be impracticable, but by a feries of mafterly movements, which made the cautious Daun apprehenfive for the fafety of his principal magazine, and even that his communication with Bohemia might be cut off. He accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silefia, and left Schweidnitz uncovered[17].

His Pruffian majefty immediately prepared to inveft that place with a numerous army. In the mean time, different bodies of his troops, fome on the fide of Saxony, others on that of Silefia, penetrated deep into Bohemia; laid many parts of the country under contribution, and fpread univerfal alarm. A body of Ruffian irregulars alfo made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Auftrians thofe cruel ravages, which, at the inftigation of the court of Vienna, the fame barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Pruffian dominions.

But the gallant Frederick, while conducting with equal fpirit and ability, that bold line of operations which unexpected circumftances had enabled him to form, was threatened with a fudden reverfe of fortune, in confequence of a new revolution in Ruffia. Peter III. in his rage for innovation, made more new regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His firft meafures, as we have feen were truly laudable, and feemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rafh and irregular turn of mind, he in many inftances fhocked their prejudices, even while he confulted their interefts. He difgufted both the army and

17. Pruffian and Auftrian Accounts compared.

the

the church, the two chief pillars of abſolute ſway; the former, by the manifeſt preference which he gave to his Holſtein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek communion, having been bred a Lutheran, and by certain innovations in regard to images; but more eſpecially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they ſhould no longer be "diſtinguiſhed by *beards*."

Theſe were high cauſes of diſcontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's miſfortunes immediately aroſe from a matrimonial feud—from the boſom of his own family. He had long ſlighted his conſort, Catharine, of the houſe of Anhalt Zerbſt, (a woman of a maſculine diſpoſition and ſound underſtanding, by whoſe counſels he might have profited) and now openly lived with the counteſs of Woronzoff, neice to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he ſeemed devoted with ſo ſtrong a paſſion, that it was generally believed he had ſome thoughts of ſhutting the empreſs up in a convent, and of raiſing the counteſs to the partnerſhip of his throne. The diſſatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of that domeſtic diſſenſion, aſſembled in the abſence of the Czar, depoſed him formally, and inveſted Catharine with the imperial enſigns.

June 28.

The new empreſs marched at the head of the malcontents in queſt of her huſband. Peter was ſolacing himſelf with his miſtreſs at one of his houſes of pleaſure, and expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe at being told the ſceptre was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to eſcape to Holſtein, but was ſeized and thrown into priſon; where he expired a few days after, of what was called an *hæmorrhoidal colic*, to which he was ſaid to have been ſubject[18]. His death, by reaſon of the ſteps that had preceded

18. *Maniſeſto* of the Empreſs Catharine II. on her exaltation to the throne of Ruſſia, as independent ſovereign, &c.

ceded it, occaſioned no ſpeculation. It was, indeed, an event univerſally expected. Princes dethroned by their ſubjects are ſeldom allowed to languiſh long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealouſy of the ſucceſſor, or the fears of ſome principal conſpirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catharine II. ſince ſo much celebrated for her liberal polity, began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herſelf, ſhe wiſely diſmiſſed all foreigners from her ſervice and confidence. She ſent away the Holſtein guards, and choſe Ruſſians in their ſtead: ſhe reſtored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no leſs importance, the privilege of wearing beards.—She conferred all the great offices of ſtate on native Ruſſians, and threw herſelf wholly on the affections of that people to whom ſhe owed her elevation.

The wiſdom of this policy was not diſputed. But it was feared, by one part of Europe, and hoped by another, that Catharine would introduce a total change of ſyſtem alſo in regard to foreign affairs; for the peace and alliance with the king of Pruſſia were very unpopular meaſures in Ruſſia. Every thing, in a word, ſeemed to threaten the illuſtrious Frederick with a renewal of his former difficulties and diſtreſſes.

Fortunately, however, for that heroic prince, the new empreſs, independent of perſonal regard, did not think her ſituation ſufficiently ſecure to engage in foreign hoſtilities. She therefore declared to the Pruſſian miniſter at the court of Peterſburg, "That ſhe was reſolved to obſerve inviola- "bly, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under "the preceding reign; but that ſhe had thought proper, ne- "vertheleſs, to order back to Ruſſia, by the neareſt roads, "all her troops in Sileſia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania." And although this change, from a ſtrict alliance to a mere neutrality, made no ſmall difference in the ſtate of the king of Pruſſia's affairs, yet muſt it be regarded, all things conſider-

ed,

ed, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former; especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that monarch.

His Prussian majesty, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, accordingly acted only with more vigour. He attacked mareschal Daun the day after it arrived, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror, no less than force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorff, with considerable loss. He next invested Schweidnitz in person; and obliged that much contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations[19].

No sooner did the warlike king find himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia, than be began to turn his eye towards Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and made preparations, which seemed to indicate a design of laying siege to Dresden.

These preparations, and the decisive victory gained by prince Henry over the Imperialists and Austrians near Freyberg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty, for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia; advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets[20]. Some parties penetrated

19. Berlin *Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1762.

20. Austrian and Prussian Accounts compared.

into

into the heart of Françonia, and even as far as Swabia; ravaging the country, exacting heavy contributions, and ſpreading ruin and diſmay on every ſide.

In thoſe predatory expeditions the Pruſſians are ſuppoſed to have levied a ſum equivalent to a million ſterling, two hundred thouſand pounds of which were paid by the induſtrious and free city of Nuremberg. Many of the princes and ſtates found themſelves obliged to ſign a neutrality, in order to ſave their territories from farther ravages; and moſt others were ſo diſabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhauſted by the ſubſequent incurſions, that no proſpect remained of their being able to furniſh, for next campaign, any army under the imperial name and authority[21]. The war, therefore, was ſeemingly left to be finiſhed as it had been begun, by the ſingle arms of Pruſſia and Auſtria.

During theſe tranſactions in Germany, ſo favourable to the allies of his Britannic majeſty, the Britiſh arms were not inactive. The ſpirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation which the new miniſters found themſelves under of declaring war againſt Spain, made them ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſhewing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wiſdom of its councils, depended upon a ſingle man. They accordingly made greater, and more ſucceſsful efforts than any under his adminiſtration, though the ſupplies fell ſhort of thoſe of laſt year by one million. Without weakening the army in Weſtphalia, we have already ſeen them undertake the defence of Portugal, and defend it effectually. In like manner, without evacuating Belleiſle, or abandoning our conqueſts on the continent of America, they drew troops from both; and in purſuance of that line of policy which they had always recommended, ſent out two powerful armaments, for the reduction of the French and Spaniſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

21. Ibid.

The firſt armament, which had been prepared under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, was deſtined againſt Martinico; the largeſt and beſt fortified of the French Windward Iſlands, and the reſidence of the governor-general. This armament was compoſed of nine thouſand land forces, headed by general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, fire-ſhips, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The fleet came within ſight of Martinico on the ſeventh of January. The troops were diſembarked, without the loſs of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the ſtrongeſt place in the iſland; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, poſſeſſion of certain eminences, named Tortenſon and Garnier, by which it is commanded, (and which were then but indifferently fortified, but gallantly defended) the invaders ſoon made the governor ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſurrendering the citadel, in order to ſave the town from being laid in aſhes [22].

On the reduction of Fort Royal, which capitulated on the fourth of February, M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the ſame ſide of the iſland. He there ſeemed determined to make a laſt ſtand; but, through the earneſt ſolicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preſervation of their property, and envious of the proſperity of the planters of Guadaloupe, under the Engliſh government, he was prevailed upon to offer, and obtained terms of capitulation for the whole iſland, before the place was inveſted [23]. With Martinico fell Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extenſive chain of the Caribbee Iſlands.

Before the ſucceſs of this expedition was known in England, the ſecond and grand armament was ready to ſail. Its object was the famous city of Havana, the principal ſea-

22. Lond. *Gazette*, March 22, 1762. 23. Ibid. April 2.

port

port in the iſland of Cuba, the key of the gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spaniſh trade and navigation in the New World. The conception of the enterpriſe was great, as it ſtruck immediately at the very baſis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It conſiſted of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, and about one hundred and fifty tranſports, with ten thouſand land forces on board.

Theſe troops were to be joined by four thouſand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entruſted to admiral Pococke, whom we have ſeen diſtinguiſh himſelf in the Eaſt Indies. The land forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. And the whole armament, which aſſembled off the north-weſt point of Hiſpaniola, and was conducted, for the ſake of expedition, (with uncommon ſeamanſhip,) through the old channel of Bahama, arrived in ſight of thoſe dreadful fortifications that were to be ſtormed on the ſixth day of June [24].

The city of Havana ſtands near the bottom of a ſmall bay, that forms one of the ſafeſt harbours in the world, and which is ſo capacious, that a thouſand ſhips of the largeſt ſize may there commodiouſly ride at anchor. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, ſtrongly fortified on each ſide. The mouth of that channel, when viſited by the Engliſh fleet under admiral Pococke, was ſecured by two ſtrong forts; on the eaſt ſide, by one named the Moro, and on the weſt, by another called the Puntal. The Moro had towards the ſea two baſtions, and on the land ſide other two, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, alſo ſurrounded by a ditch, cut in the ſame manner, was provided with caſemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewiſe ſome batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which was not

24. *Letter* from admiral Pococke, in London *Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1762.

in the best repair, twenty-one bastions not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has therefore been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was utterly impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line; three of which were afterward sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

But lord Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro; which he considered, and perhaps justly, as the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so much weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with infinite difficulty.

The hardships which the British troops sustained in this service are altogether incredible. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that they could with difficulty cover their approaches; and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors, up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries, disposed along a ridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed, with great slaughter, in an at-

tempt

tempt to deftroy them; and the befiegers flattered themfelves with a fpeedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and the labour of fix hundred men for fixteen days was confumed in a few hours.

This accident was peculiarly difcouraging; efpecially as it happened at a crifis when the hardfhips of the fiege, and the difeafes of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the Englifh army unfit for fervice. The feamen were not in a much better condition. Yet both foldiers and failors, animated by that active and perfevering courage, which fo remarkably diftinguifhes the natives of Great Britain, applied themfelves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately, another battery took fire. The befiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, intereft, and ambition, continued their efforts, with as much ardour as if the fiege had been but juft begun. At length, after conquering numberlefs difficulties, they got poffeffion of the covered way. They made a lodgement before the right baftion; and a mine being fprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was left open. Though fmall, the foldiers were ordered to ftorm it.

The attempt feemed defperate, as the Spanifh garrifon was ftill ftrong: and the brave defence it had made, allowed the befiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and refolution of the commanders. But danger itfelf was only a ftimulus to men who had fo near a profpect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared themfelves for the affault with the utmoft alacrity; and mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, fupported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with fo much order and intrepidity, as entirely difconcerted the garrifon. Four hundred of the Spaniards were July 30. cut in pieces, or perifhed in attempting make their efcape by water to the city: the reft threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis de Gonzalez, the fecond in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to ftop the

 flight

flight of his countrymen; and Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers, in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and Puntal castle see the besiegers in the possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. These batteries being happily completed, and sixty pieces of cannon ready to play upon the Havana, lord Albemarle, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aid de camp with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, and make him sensible of the unavoidable destruction that was ready to fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to the last extremity.

Aug. 10.

Next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect both against the town and fort, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, in order to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the city of Havana, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government; the Puntal castle, and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty[25]. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near three millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise belonging to the Catholic king, beside an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

25. *Letters* from the earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pococke, in Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1762. And the chief Engineer's *Account* of the *Siege*.

This

This ſingle blow, the greateſt perhaps ever ſtruck by any nation, was in a manner finally ſubverſive of the power of the houſe of Bourbon, by cutting off their reſources. The marine of France was already ruined: her finances were low. Spain, along with her principal fortreſs in the Weſt Indies, had loſt a large fleet. And the conqueſt of the Havana not only gave to England the abſolute command of the gulf of Mexico, but put her eventually in the poſſeſſion of the whole American Archipelago. Porto Rico and Hiſpaniola only remained to the enemy; and thoſe iſlands, it was well known, being cut off from all communication with Europe, and utterly deſtitute of neceſſaries, would have ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons.

The navy of Great Britain was ſuperior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of ſupporting it in her immenſe commerce, which increaſed with her fleets: and both might be ſaid to embrace the univerſe. For her conqueſts, during this ſeaſon of glory, were not confined to the Weſt Indies. The ſouth of Aſia alſo beheld her triumphs.

While the Britiſh forces were engaged in the ſiege of the Havana, an armament ſailed from Madraſs, under the direction of rear-admiral Corniſh and brigadier general Draper, for the Philippine Iſlands. The chief object of this enterpriſe was the reduction of the city of Manila, the capital of the iſland of Luconia; the ſeat of the Spaniſh government in thoſe iſlands, and the centre of communication between South America and the Eaſt Indies.

The hoſtile fleet arrived in the bay of Manila before the governor had the leaſt intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared himſelf, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected with diſdain the repeated ſummons of the Britiſh commanders. Neceſſary ſteps were conſequently taken for landing the troops, conſiſting of two thouſand and three hundred men. The debarkation was ſafely effected; Sep. 23.

an important poſt was ſeized; batteries were erected; and every effort was made to reduce the town by force. But the operations of the beſiegers were much retarded by inceſſant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempeſt, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and alſo by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who ruſhed up to the muzzles of the Britiſh muſkets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded [26].

Meanwhile the invaders, in ſpite of every obſtacle, advanced toward the accompliſhment of their enterprize. They had ſilenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications toward the ſea; when, as a laſt effort to raiſe the ſiege, a deſperate ſally was puſhed by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both however were repulſed, after a ſharp and bloody conflict. A practicable breach, in the works, was at length opened; and preparations were made for ſtorming it.

Oct. 3.

In ſuch circumſtances, it might naturally have been expected, that the governor, inſtead of longer remaining obſtinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to ſave the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no propoſal to that purpoſe was preſented. General Draper therefore took the moſt effectual meaſures for carrying the place by aſſault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in ſmall bodies about four o'clock in the morning, advanced to the breach at the ſignal of a general diſcharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick ſmoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Ruſſel led the way, at the head of ſixty volunteers (from the different bodies of which the army was compoſed), ſupported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment, to which he belonged. Colonel Monſon and major More followed with two grand

Oct. 6.

26. Draper's *Journal* of the *Siege* of *Manila*, in London *Gazette*, April 19, 1763.

diviſions

divisions of the same heroic regiment; next came a battalion of seamen; and the East India company's troops closed the rear [27].

All these four bodies behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were instantly driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens; and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders, saved the town from a general and justly merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars was only demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated, at the same time, that all the other fortified places in the island of Luconia, and in all the islands dependent on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty [28]. The whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manila.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Every where victorious, by land and by sea, in both hemispheres and in all quarters of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she chose to retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without farther subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present disabled state. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of Tory counsels at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the Family Compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests however, to the sur-

27. Lond. *Gazette*, ubi sup. 28. Id. Ibid.

prise of all Europe, and the indignant aſtoniſhment of every honeſt Engliſhman, a negociation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty. And before the event of the expedition againſt Manila was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were ſign-

Nov. 3.

ed at Fontainbleau; which have generally been conſidered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the Britiſh arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depreſſion of France or Spain. The cauſe of a meaſure ſo extraordinary deſerves to be traced to its ſource.

George III. the moment he aſcended the throne of Great Britain, determined to aboliſh, as far as poſſible, all thoſe odious party diſtinctions which had ſo long divided the kingdom, and to extend the royal favour and confidence equally to the whole body of his ſubjects. This policy, as time has too fully proved, was more liberal than wiſe; for although the Whigs, who engroſſed all the great offices of ſtate during the two preceding reigns, had loſt much of their popularity by promoting the influence of the crown, they were ſtill eſteemed the true friends of freedom, and the natural ſupporters of the family of Hanover on the throne of theſe realms. By them chiefly had been brought about the Revolution, and by them the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

The Tories indeed, by aſſuming the character of patriots, had frequently been able, as we have ſeen, to maintain a formidable oppoſition. But that oppoſition was conſidered, by the more moderate and intelligent Whigs, as no more than ſufficient to keep alive the ſpirit of liberty, and preſerve the balance of the conſtitution. The firſt, and alſo the ſecond George, therefore, always diſregarded the arguments of thoſe courtiers, who endeavoured to prove, that they would more firmly eſtabliſh their ſway, by admitting the Tories to an equal ſhare in the adminiſtration. They repoſed all their confidence in the Whigs. The ſhock of two rebellions, aſ-

cribed

cribed by many to this narrow policy, induced the princes of the Brunſwick line to make no alteration in their plan.

Mr. Pitt had originally aſſociated himſelf with the ſuppoſed Tory patriots, and firſt acquired diſtinction by oppoſing the corrupt ſyſtem of Sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the Whigs. After the reſignation of that miniſter, he occaſionally temporized, (though he ſeems always to have had an eye to the true intereſts of Great Britain) and was ſometimes reputed a Whig and ſometimes a Tory. But during his own adminiſtration, he ſcorned all party diſtinctions; and the very names of Whig and Tory were loſt in the blaze of his popularity. Repoſing on the affections of his country, the ſtrength and the reſources of which he better underſtood than any other man, he employed men of all parties, and found all alike faithful. He raiſed whole regiments of Highlanders from among the diſaffected clans, and gave the command of ſome of them to officers who had ſerved under the Pretender. Their behaviour juſtified his confidence. They carried victory whitherſoever they appeared, and became the moſt loyal ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty.

This great man would ſoon have done away all local and party diſtinctions; and, while aſſiſted by ſo able a miniſter, the reſolution of the young king, to lend his countenance to the abolition of ſuch diſtinctions, as a prelude to a more liberal ſyſtem of policy, was alike generous and prudent. But on the reſignation of Mr. ſecretary Pitt, the duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, who had long been conſidered as the head of the Whigs, endeavoured to revive thoſe factious diſtinctions, in order to ruin the credit of his rival in power, John earl of Bute, a nobleman of worth and probity, as well as learning and talents, but of a dry humour and reſerved temper; and who unhappily for the quiet of the nation, beſide being little acquainted with public buſineſs, was a reputed Tory, a Scotchman, and a Stuart!

The public clamour was accordingly loud againſt the *favourite.*

favourite. But as the duke of Newcaſtle's faculties, which had never been ſtrong, were now much decayed, and his rival poſſeſſed the royal ear, he ſaw his influence in the cabinet daily decline, notwithſtanding his great parliamentary intereſt, his high office, and his importance as the demagogue of the moſt powerful party in the kingdom. He had accordingly found it neceſſary, in the month of May, to reſign; and the earl of Bute, in conſequence of that reſignation, was placed at the head of the treaſury.

Many of the duke of Newcaſtle's friends, perſons of rank and eminence, had reſigned with him. And the new miniſter, in order to preſerve his ſituation, judged it prudent to deprive others of their employments, and to fill their places with men attached to his perſon; among whom, eſpecially in the inferior departments, were too many of his own countrymen. He alſo thought it ſound policy, in conformity with the ſyſtem of comprehenſion that had been embraced, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who had uniformly oppoſed the court during the two preceding reigns, and who were able to yield him effectual ſupport. They readily came into his meaſures.

The popular clamour, however, continued; and although the friends of Mr. Pitt did not form an actual junction with thoſe of the duke of Newcaſtle, both parties were alike hoſtile to the miniſter. To one or the other of theſe two parties belonged the whole commercial and moneyed intereſt. The earl of Bute was, therefore, ſoon made ſenſible of the neceſſity of reſigning, or of procuring peace to Europe; as he muſt expect to encounter inſuperable difficulties, in attempting to raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for the proſecution of the war. From motives of patriotiſm, as he declared, he choſe the latter alternative; and ſo far as his judgment was ſwayed by an antipathy againſt the continental ſyſtem, he deſerves pardon, if not praiſe. But the great body of the people of England, though not inſenſible of their burdens, or of

the degree of their annual increaſe, have not yet forgiven him for checking the career of their conqueſts. They had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from a continuance of hoſtilities.

Fortunately for the Britiſh miniſter, if not for the kingdom, all things were favourable to his views among the hoſtile powers on the continent. Diſappointed in her hopes of immediate advantage from the Family Compact, the invaſion of Portugal, and the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, France was now ſincerely diſpoſed to peace. Spain having ſuffered beyond example, during her ſhort concern in the war, and labouring under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of future misfortunes, keenly repented of the ſtep ſhe had taken, and wiſhed to recede. Both courts, therefore, ſaw with peculiar ſatisfaction, the progreſs of the popular diſcontents in England; and France, in order to profit by them, and recover in the cabinet what ſhe had loſt in the field, indicated, through the medium of the king of Sardinia, a deſire of negociating.

The propoſal was cordially embraced by the Britiſh miniſtry. And the duke of Bedford was ſent over to Paris (after certain diſcuſſions), to treat on the part of his Britannic majeſty; and the duke de Nivernois to London, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king. The negociation, which was built upon that begun by Mr. Pitt, with too little attention, on the part of Great Britain, to the fortunate change of circumſtances in her favour, was accordingly ſoon finiſhed; as no new demand of any conſequence was made, and both parties now agreed to withdraw themſelves wholly from the German war, and make reſtitution of all the places they had taken on the European continent. And the Preliminary Articles, including the intereſts of both France and Spain, were ſigned, as already obſerved, in the beginning of November.

By thoſe articles it was ſtipulated, "That France ſhall "cede to Great Britain, Canada in its utmoſt extent, with "the iſlands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part

"of

"of Louisiana, which lies on this side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and its territory: That the French shall be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations; and that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall be ceded to them for the benefit of their fishery, but without the liberty of erecting forts on those islands: That Spain shall relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; permit the English logwood-cutters to build houses in the bay of Honduras, for the conveniency of their trade; evacuate whatever places she may have taken belonging to Portugal; and cede Florida to Great Britain, in consideration of having the Havana, and all that part of the island of Cuba, conquered by the British arms, restored to her: That the island of Minorca shall be restored to Great Britain, and the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle to France: That France shall cede to Great Britain the forts and factories she has lost on the River Senegal, the island of Granada and the Granadines, and give up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago." But St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was delivered in full right to France, and the French East India company were put in the same situation as after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; by the restitution of Pondicherry and other places, with the single exception of erecting no forts in the province of Bengal. In return for so many indulgencies, France agreed to destroy the harbour, and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all expectation, by a majority of the British parliament, and the definitive treaty was signed at Paris early in the following year. About the same time was signed, at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia; by which it was provided, That a mutual restitution of conquests, and an oblivion of injuries should

A. D. 1763. Feb. 16.

ſhould take place, and that both parties ſhould be put in the ſame ſituation as at the commencement of hoſtilities.

Thus my dear Philip, was terminated, fortunately for the general happineſs of mankind, but prematurely for the grandeur of Great Britain, and without a due attention to her intereſts, the moſt active, ſplendid, and univerſal war that ever divided the human race; the moſt bloody between diſciplined armies, and the moſt general in Europe, ſince that which was cloſed by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BESIDE the general diſſatisfaction in England, occaſioned by the premature termination of hoſtilities, and the reſtitution of ſo many conqueſts without adequate ceſſions, it was ſtrongly urged by ſome popular writers, that the Britiſh miniſtry had committed a ſtill more dangerous error, at the peace of Paris, in the choice of the conqueſts they had thought proper to retain. "Martinico and Guadaloupe," ſaid thoſe writers, "would have been found more profitable poſſeſ- "ſions than Canada and its dependencies. Their produce "would not only have augmented the royal revenue, while "it increaſed our ſhipping, but have given us the command "of the ſugar-trade of Europe. France ought to have been "compelled to make her ſacrifices in the Weſt Indies." It muſt, however, be owned, That as the war had originated in North America, and had taken its riſe immediately from a diſpute between the French and Engliſh colonies concerning their boundaries, its grand object on our part, the ſecuring of our American colonies againſt future encroachments, ſeemed to be attained at the peace, in the ceſſion made by France of Canada and Louiſiana to Great Britain.

The ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies in North America, as well as their extenſion, was farther provided for, in the ceſſion of Florida by Spain. But that ſecurity, it was inſinuated,

ed, by certain keen-ſighted politicians, would prove the ſource of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to ſhake off the controul of the mother-country, ſince they no longer ſtood in need of her protection, and to erect themſelves into independent ſtates. This inſinuation, however, was generally conſidered as alike illiberal and unjuſt. And the humanity and generoſity of the Engliſh nation, amid all the violent diſcontents provoked by the treaty of peace, found no ſmall conſolation in reflecting, That our American brethren would thenceforth be happily exempted from the annoyance of any European enemy, and able to keep the natives in awe.

Nor was this our only conſolation. The magnitude of the Britiſh empire in North America, and the proſpect of its growth in population and improvement, afforded a wide ſweep for the projects of political ambition, and a boundleſs field for the ſpeculations of commercial avidity. The undivided ſovereignty of that vaſt continent, with the ſole enjoyment of its excluſive trade, ſeemed to open to the citizens of Great Britain ſuch ſources of induſtry, and channels of naval greatneſs, as had never fallen to the lot of any other people; and which the immenſity of her conqueſts, and their towering hopes of farther acquiſitions, with an ardent deſire of finally humbling the houſe of Bourbon, only could have made them conſider as beneath her haughtieſt wiſh.

Theſe conciliatory reflections are offered merely from a love of truth, not ſuggeſted by a deſire of palliating the juſtly execrated peace of Paris; a meaſure that muſt eternally rouſe the keeneſt emotions of indignation in the mind of every honeſt and enlightened Engliſhman. No human conſideration ſhould have induced the Britiſh miniſtry to give up Cuba, or to ſtop ſhort of the reduction of Hiſpaniola; while our naval force enabled us to protect the one, and to ſubdue the other; as each promiſed a prodigious augmentation of that force, and alſo of the means of ſupporting it. We ought not to have left the French or Spaniards in poſſeſſion

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of a single island in the West Indies. Hispaniola and Porto-rico alone remained to them.

An armament planned in the East Indies, and fitted out in the port of Manila, would have enabled us to become masters of the rich but defenceless kingdom of Peru; and by holding, in the Port of Havana, the key of the Gulf of Florida, we might be said to be actually possessed of all the treasure of Mexico. No ship could pass from Vera Cruz to Europe without our permission, nor any European vessel thither. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother-country, and which are necessary to their accommodation, the inhabitants of New Spain would readily have submitted to that power, which alone could supply their wants; and which would have offered them the free exercise of their religion, with a more indulgent government, and a more advantageous market for their produce.

But let us moderate our ideas; let us confine our views solely to the places we had positively taken, and we shall find (admitting Belleisle to be equal in importance to the island of Minorca, which it certainly is to France or England) we shall find, That we gave up at the peace of Paris without any equivalent, except the sandy promontory of Florida, not only Martinico, Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, but the principal part of the large and fertile island of Cuba, with the Havana its almost impregnable port, the Gibraltar of America! and eventually the rich city of Manila, and the whole range of the Philippines; to say nothing of there stitution of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and many other places in the East Indies, with the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa.

If it was necessary to grant some indulgence to France, in order to quiet the jealousy of other powers, (though I am not sensible that Great Britain, considering her insular situation, had occasion to be afraid of giving umbrage to any European power) France might have been allowed to retain,

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along with the town of New Orleans and its territory, her ſettlements higher on the Miſſiſippi, and the province of Canada, confined within its natural boundaries, the four Great Lakes; or if, inſtead of Canada, ſhe had wiſhed to poſſeſs a ſugar iſland, in addition to her plantations in Hiſpaniola, Martinico or Guadaloupe might have been indulged to her, without the liberty of erecting fortifications. A ſuſpenſion of the blow hanging over the remaining dominions of Spain in the Weſt Indies, with the proviſional reſtitution of the Philippines, was all that ſhe could reaſonably have demanded.

By ſuch an equitable treaty of peace, the haughty family of Bourbon would have been effectually humbled and held in awe, and the ſinews of their naval ſtrength ſo completely cut, as to prevent them from again becoming formidable by ſea. By ſuch a peace England, without farther acquiſitions, would have eſtabliſhed, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, that dominion which ſhe has long claimed over the empire of the waves. And have eſtabliſhed it for ever; by building it upon the keels of a rich and extenſive commerce, which the unrivalled command of the ocean, and the produce of the principal iſlands in the Weſt Indies, would have rendered perpetual.

The apparent cauſe, why ſo glorious an opportunity of humbling our ambitious enemies was neglected, has already been aſſigned:—" the INFLUENCE of *Tory counſels!*" alike diſcernible, whether we regard the *inadequate* treaty of Peace, or the *premature* termination of the War. The fatal *effects* of thoſe *counſels* and of that *influence*, I ſhall have farther occaſion to ſhew, in deſcribing the convulſions, and the diſmembering of the Britiſh empire; ſubjects leſs pleaſing to Engliſhmen, but not leſs intereſting, than its ſtruggles in advancing toward aggrandiſement. In the meantime I muſt carry forward the Progreſs of Society, to this grand æra in the HISTORY of MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

The Progreſs of Society in EUROPE *during the preſent Century.*

I HAVE brought down, in a former Letter, the Progreſs of Society to the cloſe of the laſt century. And if we look back on the hiſtory of the preſent, and compare it, as far as it has advanced, with the annals of Modern Europe during any preceding period of the ſame extent, we ſhall find much cauſe to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the ſocial ſyſtem; which have, with a happy conformity, at once diminiſhed the miſeries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reaſon, after aſcertaining the intereſts of nations and the rights of individuals, has not been able wholly to reſtrain the ambition of princes, it has at leaſt introduced into the operations of war a ſpirit of generoſity and fellow-feeling unknown to our ferocious forefathers. Perſecution has ceaſed to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to water the earth with the blood of unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen has ſeldom been diſturbed in his induſtrious purſuits, or ingenious labours, by the ravages of inteſtine war.

If the moſt exact regulations of police have not hitherto proved altogether effectual to ſuppreſs private violence, or the ſtrict execution of juſtice, to baniſh fraud from the tranſactions of men, both have been rendered leſs frequent. Property is become more ſecure. The comforts and conveniencies of life are more equally enjoyed. Peſtilence and famine are kept at a diſtance. Aſylums are every where provided for poverty, and hoſpitals for diſeaſe. Private feſtivities are enlivened by public entertainments. The pleaſures of ſenſe, refined by delicacy, are heightened by thoſe of imagination and ſentiment; while taſte, in contemplating the

beauties of nature and art, may be ſaid to open new ſources of ſatisfaction to the ſoul, and to offer new delights to the heart.

And if there are ſome ſpeculative viſionaries, under the name of philoſophers, who repreſent Man as more happy in the ſavage ſtate, than when furniſhed with all thoſe ſocial enjoyments and elegant delights, their arguments are too futile to deſerve a ſerious anſwer: and it would be but a juſt puniſhment for their impertinence, to ſhut them out from the pale of poliſhed life; and condemn them to reſide among thoſe barbarians, whoſe manners they affect, and whoſe condition they pretend to admire.

In ſupport of this repreſentation, my dear Philip, I ſhall exhibit to your view ſome leading circumſtances, which could not readily inter into the general narration.

Ruſſia, altogether rude and barbarous at the beginning of the preſent century, has made rapid advances toward civilization. It has experienced the moſt ſudden and fortunate change, of any country of the ſame extent in the hiſtory of human affairs. But that change, as I have had occaſion to remark[1], has not been attended with ſuch beneficial conſequences as might have been wiſhed to the body of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a ſtate of ſlavery. And notwithſtanding the more generous policy of Catharine II. who endeavours to revive a ſpirit of liberty among the lower claſſes, and extends encouragement and protection to her ſubjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Ruſſia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners; or by ſuch natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are ſtill in ſome meaſure exotics in that great and flouriſhing empire; not as Raynal inſinuates, on account of the coldneſs of the climate, but becauſe the mental ſoil is not yet ſufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily ex-

1. Part II. Letter XXV.

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tends itſelf; and the general progreſs of improvement is even now very conſiderable. Many of the Ruſſian nobility and gentry have acquired a reliſh for polite literature, and are not only exempt from barbariſm, but diſtinguiſhed by humanity to their vaſſals, by poliſhed manners, and elegant converſation. The citizens have taſted the ſweets of induſtry, and proſecute ſucceſsfully the mechanical arts. Many valuable cultures, both for trade and conſumption, have been lately introduced. And Ruſſia, which has already produced generals and ſtateſmen, will ſoon, it may be preſumed, give birth to poets, painters, hiſtorians, and philoſophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts, ſciences, and amuſements; and alleviating the inconveniencies of life by its enjoyments, perfect the ſyſtem of ſocial happineſs.

Of the progreſs of improvement in Poland, where, beſide other adverſe circumſtances, the feudal ariſtocracy ſtill reigns in all its auſterity; where the king is a ſhadow, the people ſlaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be ſaid. Sweden and Denmark have declined in their conſequence, as kingdoms; but the ſons of the North do not ſeem to be leſs happy, though they appear to have loſt, with their political freedom, their ancient ſpirit of liberty and independency. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made conſiderable progreſs among them; and we may lay it down as a general maxim, which will admit of few exceptions, That every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their induſtry, unleſs their condition is altogether ſervile. Nor are theſe countries without their men of genius and ſcience. Sweden in her Linnæus, who has arranged the animal and vegetable ſyſtems, and diſcriminated the genera and ſpecies of each, with all the accuracy of Ariſtotle, boaſts the honour of having given birth to the moſt profound naturaliſt in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone leſs change than any other country of equal ex-

tent, notwithſtanding the frequent wars by which it has been ſhaken. Theſe wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourſe the body of the people have with ſtrangers, in time of peace, by reaſon of their inland ſituation, have preſerved the general manners nearly the ſame as at the cloſe of the laſt century; and the conſtitution of the empire has varied little ſince the peace of Weſtphalia. But agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, have in the courſe of the preſent century made great progreſs in many parts of Germany; eſpecially in the dominions of his Pruſſian majeſty. There the ſciences and the polite arts alſo have flouriſhed, under the protection of the illuſtrious Frederick, at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms; the hero, ſtateſman, hiſtorian, and philoſopher. He has collected around him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whoſe liberal reſearches have been directed to the moſt valuable ends. And the generous ſpirit of the prince who at preſent fills the imperial throne, leaves us no room to doubt but the court of Vienna, long diſtinguiſhed by its magnificence, will ſoon be as poliſhed and enlightened as that of Berlin, of London, or Verſailles. The German tongue is already adorned with works of imagination and ſentiment; and the writings of Geſner, Klopſtock, and other men of genius, have been tranſlated into moſt modern languages.

The Swiſs, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by their love of liberty and of their country, and ſo long accuſtomed to ſell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their ſoil; having fertiliſed with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the neceſſary arts, now inſtead of hiring themſelves as ſoldiers to ambitious princes, pour forth their ſurplus of population upon more wealthy ſtates in uſeful artificers and induſtrious manufacturers; and preſerve at home their plain and ſimple manners, with their ancient independency and military character. Happy without wealth, they are ſtrangers to luxury. Do-

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mestic duties among them supply the place of public amusements, and public virtue conceals the defects in their form of government[2].

The Swiss are still in possession of all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic: while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of freedom; who acquired its full establishment by greater and more vigorous efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base; dead to all sense of a public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevails in Holland. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces. In such a state, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his hoard, or the glutton his meal; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.

Italy has acquired new lustre in the present century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature have been encouraged. If painting and architecture have continued to decline, music and poetry have greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, distinguished from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous in-

2. The most striking feature in the political character of the people of Switzerland, is that fraternal harmony which has so long subsisted, not only between the inhabitants of the several cantons, which are independent of each other, governed by different laws, and profess different religions, but between the citizens of different religions, in the same canton.

cidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented; as the airs are all sung by real actors, strongly agitated by the passions they express: whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effects, was sung only by cool observers.

But the Italian opera, even in its *most perfect state*, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical; though, I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it, what is believed to have happened in the great theatre of the world. In order however to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy; in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical, which would prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio.

The state of society in Spain has been greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies are no long erexcluded from company by an illiberal jealousy. The intercourse of the sexes becomes every day more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, has been revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste is said to have extended itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, since the expulsion of the Jesuits. If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption

of

of manners, recovering their former conſequence and character. Such a phenomenon would effectually overturn that political hypotheſis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, That ſtates which have reached their utmoſt height, like the human body, muſt neceſſarily tend to decay, and either experience, a total diſſolution, or become ſo inſignificant as to excite neither envy or jealouſy.

In France, as I have already had occaſion to ſhew [3], ſociety attained its higheſt poliſh before the cloſe of the laſt century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Lewis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a myſtical religion became faſhionable at court. Madam de Maintenon herſelf was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, afterward archbiſhop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and author of the adventures of Telemachus, one of the fineſt works of human imagination. The fervour ſpread, eſpecially among the ſofter ſex; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taſte, wrote tragedies on ſacred ſubjects. The court, however, reſumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithſtanding the accumulated diſtreſſes of the nation. And his libertine example, with that of his miniſter, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a groſs ſenſuality that ſcorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing ſacred and reſpectable with deriſion; and a ſpirit of diſſipation, which, amid the utmoſt poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Lewis XV.

But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not hinder the body of the people from ſeriouſly attending to their civil and religious rights. And their firmneſs in maintaining both deſerves to be particularly noticed, as it forms one of the moſt ſtriking objects in the View of Society, during the preſent century.

3. Part II. Vol. IV. Lett. XIX.

A furious

A furious dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points in theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Lewis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the Jansenists, supported by the talents of a Nicole, an Arnaud, and a Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The controversy, however, was not to be determined by such weapons. The Jesuits were supposed to be better Catholics; and as the conscience of the king had always been in their keeping, the leaders of the Jansenists were persecuted, and thrown into prison, or obliged to abandon their country. The Jesuits, in order to complete their triumph, and the ruin of their religious antagonists, at length obtained the king's consent (through the influence of father le Tellier, his confessor) to refer the disputed points to the decision of the pope. They accordingly sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation; and the Holy Office, in 1713, found one hundred and one of those to be heretical.

The Bull declaring the condemnation of the opinions of the Jansenists, commonly known by the name of UNIGENITUS, from the word with which it begins, instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king who was wholly governed by the Jesuits, and spurred on to violent measures by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the whole kingdom was soon divided into *Acceptants* and *Recusants*. The death of Lewis XIV. put a stop to the dispute. And the duke of Orleans, while regent, ordered the persecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explications. They found

themselves

themselves under the neceſſity of complying. Even the good cardinal de Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his ſentiments, in 1720, for the ſake of peace.

From that time to the year 1750, the Bull Unigenitus, though held in execration by the people, occaſioned no public diſturbance. Then it was reſolved by the clergy to demand confeſſional notes of dying perſons; and it was ordered that thoſe notes ſhould be ſigned by prieſts adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could be obtained. And theſe conſolatory rites were refuſed without pity to all Recuſants, and to ſuch as confeſſed to Recuſants. The new archbiſhop of Paris engaged warmly in this ſcheme, and the parliament no leſs warmly in the cauſe of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that at Paris; and all clergymen, who refuſed to adminiſter the ſacraments to perſons in their laſt moments, were thrown into priſon. The church complained of the interpoſition of the civil power; and Lewis XV. by an act of his abſolute authority, forbid the parliaments to take cognizance of ſuch matters.

Theſe parliaments, as I have formerly had occaſion to obſerve, are only the ſupreme courts of juſtice, not the ſtates of the kingdom, or proper legiſlative body: yet have they continued, ſince the abolition of the national aſſemblies, to be the faithful guardians of the rights of the people, and to check the deſpotiſm of the crown, by refuſing to regiſter its oppreſſive edicts, as well as by remonſtrating againſt them [4]. They have frequently interpoſed their authority, with advantage, in matters of religion.

4. No royal edict can have the force of a law, until regiſtered in parliament; and although the French parliaments cannot abſolutely refuſe to regiſter ſuch edicts, if the royal authority be exerted in all its fullneſs, that is to ſay, when the king holds perſonally in parliament what is called a *Bed of Juſtice*; yet they may, even in that caſe, ſuſpend the regiſtry ſome time, and likewiſe remonſtrate againſt the edict itſelf. Theſe remonſtrances, and their beneficial effects, have deſervedly gained the French parliaments the higheſt veneration among the people.

The

The heads of the parliament of Paris, which has ever ſtood foremoſt in repreſſing both regal and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, therefore took the liberty on this occaſion, to remind the king, That their privileges, and the duty of their ſtation, obliged them to do juſtice on all delinquents. They accordingly continued in the exerciſe of their ſeveral functions, without regard to the king's prohibition, and had actually commenced a proſecution againſt the biſhop of Orleans, when they received from Verſailles a Letter *de cachet*, accompanied by Letters Patent, which they were ordered to regiſter, commanding them to ſuſpend all proſecutions relative to the refuſal of the ſacraments. Inſtead of obeying theſe orders, the different tribunals of the parliament preſented new remonſtrances; and being referred for anſwers to the king's former declarations, they had the ſpirit to reſolve, "That "whereas certain evil-minded perſons have prevented truth "from reaching the throne, the chambers remain aſſembled, "and all other buſineſs muſt be ſuſpended." The king, by freſh Letters Patent, renewed his orders, and commanded the parliament to proceed to buſineſs; but all the chambers, far from complying, came to another reſolution more bold than the former, importing, That they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath.

Matters being thus brought to extremity, the king baniſhed, to different parts of the kingdom, in 1753, the members of all the chambers of the parliament, except thoſe of the Great Chamber; and they, proving no more compliant than their brethren, alſo were baniſhed. New difficulties and diſputes enſued. In order to prevent an entire ſtop being put to the adminiſtration of juſtice by this violent meaſure, Lewis XV, eſtabliſhed by his Letters Patent, what was called a *Royal Chamber*, for the proſecution of ſuits civil and criminal. But the Letters Patent, conſtituting that new court, ought to have been regiſtered by the parliament of Paris, which had no longer an exiſtence. To remedy this difficulty, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which

refuſed

refused to register the letters in question, even after one of its members had been committed to the Bastile, and another obliged to abscond. Intimidated, however, by such a bold exertion of despotic power, the remaining members allowed the king's officers to enter the Letters Patent in their register. But they thought proper, on more mature deliberation, to retire from business, leaving an arret on the table expressing their reasons for so doing.

The Royal Chamber was now the only court of law in Paris. The judges assembled, but they could find no advocates to plead. They were held in universal contempt, and the whole kingdom was filled with such a total suppression of justice, as threatened anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the clergy seemed to enjoy their victory amid the public disorder, and entered into associations for the support of their authority. But the king ceased to countenance them. At length become sensible of their pride and obstinacy, as well as of the evils it had occasioned, he exhorted them to more moderation. He also recalled the parliament, which returned in triumph to Paris, in 1754, amid the acclamations of the people, who celebrated the event with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. And the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conflans. The bishops of Orleans and Troyes were, in like manner, banished to their country seats.

A temporary quiet was by these means produced; but it proved only a calm before a more violent storm. The archbishop of Paris, in retirement, continued his intrigues. He was banished to a greater distance from court. But the dispute in regard to the bull Unigenitus, which he had revived, did not subside. The clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power in prosecuting them for such refusal; so that nothing was more common in those distracted times, than to see the communion administered by an arret of parliament!

The

The king, a ſecond time drawn over to the eccleſiaſtical ſide of the queſtion, referred the diſpute to the pope. Benedict XIV. though a mild and moderate man, could not retract a conſtitution regarded as a law of the church: he therefore declared, in a circular letter or brief, to all the biſhops of France, That the bull Unigenitus muſt be acknowledged as an univerſal law againſt which none could make reſiſtance "without endangering their eternal ſalvation."

The parliament of Paris, conſidering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, ſuppreſſed it by an arret or decree. The king, enraged at their boldneſs, as well as at their refuſal to regiſter certain oppreſſive taxes, reſolved to hold a bed of Juſtice. He accordingly went to the parliament on the 13th day of November, in the year 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thouſand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he ſuppreſſed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inqueſts, the members of which had been moſt firm in oppoſing the brief. He then commanded that the bull Unigenitus ſhould be reſpected, and prohibited the ſecular judges from ordering the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. And he concluded with declaring, that he would be obeyed!—Fifteen counſellors of the great chamber lodged their reſignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example, and univerſal murmurings prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom.

In the midſt of theſe murmurings, the deſperate fanatic Francis Damien, ſtabbed the king in the manner already related; not, as he declared, with an intention of killing his ſovereign, but only of wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the adminiſtration of the ſacraments at the time of death:—What effect this declaration had upon the mind of Lewis XV. it is impoſſible to ſay; but it is certain he a ſecond time baniſhed the archbiſhop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate

commodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

But the grand triumph of the French parliaments was to come. The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull Unigenitus having rendered themselves universally odious by their share in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk, indeed, he must necessarily do so. The parliaments eagerly seized an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their INSTITUTE; or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed, or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished the order of Jesus in France.

Elated with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliaments attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. Not satisfied with refusing, as usual, to register certain oppressive edicts, or with remonstrating against them, they ordered criminal prosecutions to be commenced against the governors of several provinces, acting

acting in the king's name, who had enforced the regiſtration of thoſe edicts. But I muſt not here enter upon this ſubject, which is intimately connected with the body of hiſtory, and would lead us far into the affairs of latter times.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſorders, and the regal and ſpiritual diſpoſition that occaſioned them, the progreſs of improvement, and the enlargement of the human mind, has been very conſiderable in France, during the preſent century. If poetry, painting, muſic, ſculpture, and architecture, ſhould be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the reign of Lewis XIV. they have not ſince greatly declined, and many arts, both uſeful and ornamental, have been invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving in copper, which has been carried to ſuch a degree of perfection as to rival painting itſelf; of making porcelain, plate-glaſs, fine-paper, and paper-toys; and of counterfeiting in paſte, ſo ingeniouſly as to deceive the niceſt eye, at a little diſtance, the diamond, the pearl, and all ſorts of gems. The weaving of ſilk has been rendered more facile, while its culture has been extended; and a culture of ſtill more importance to ſociety, that of corn.

M. Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philoſophically inveſtigating the principles of huſbandry, has made it a faſhionable ſtudy, and introduced a taſte for agriculture, which has already been attended with the moſt beneficial effects. Nor is that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who has turned the eye of philoſophy from mind to matter, and from the ſtudy of the heavens to the inveſtigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking particularly diſtinguiſhes French literature under the the reign of Lewis XV.

At the head of the philoſophers of REASON, of the inſtructors of their ſpecies in what concerns their moſt important intereſts, we muſt place the baron de Monteſquieu. That penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by diſcovering the latent ſprings of go-

vernment—its moving principle, under all its different forms, and the *ſpirit of laws* in each, has given to political reaſoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman Helvetius, alſo endowed with a truly philoſophical genius, has attempted to introduce the ſame degree of certainty into moral and metaphyſical reaſoning, though not with equal ſucceſs.

Helvetius, ſyſtematical to a fault, but eccentric even in ſyſtem, employs in vain his fine talents to convince mankind, That they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degree in which they poſſeſs them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumſtances. But his zealous endeavours to deſtroy the hydra prejudice, by contraſting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the ſcorn of different claſſes in the ſame kingdom for each other, muſt tend to humble pride and ſoften animoſities. Nor can his generous efforts to reſcue virtue from the hands of Jeſuitical caſuiſts, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on the ſolid baſis of PUBLIC GOOD, fail to benefit ſociety; or his ingenuity in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonſtrating the influence of phyſical cauſes upon the moral conduct of man, to be of uſe to poets, hiſtorians, and legiſlators.

While Monteſquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the political and moral world, and inveſtigating the powers and principles of man, as a member of ſociety, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character, Buffon was employed in ſurveying the natural world; in examining the ſecret cells of generation, animal inſtinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from a ſnail and the ſhell-fiſh up to man; the organization of the human frame, the original imperfection of the ſenſes, and the means by which they are perfected; all accompanied with ſuch juſt and ſu-

blime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

"Much has been written in this age," says Voltaire, "but genius belonged to the last." Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the Henriad is inferior to the Iliad, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The Zara, the Alzira, the Merope, are equal in diction and pathos to any tragedy of Racine; and the Mahomet is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous Cinna of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers; and that he acquired by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally too free, and often of a pernicious tendency in a Christian community; yet have they served to promote inquiry, and to enlighten the human understanding. His Age of Lewis XIV. his History of Russia, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his General History with many impertinences; yet will the stamina remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment. He first connected, with the chain of political and military events, the progress of literature, of arts, and of manners.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. But it is not my purpose to speak of men of genius merely as such, otherwise I should dwell with particular pleasure on the beautiful extravagancies of Rousseau, and endeavour to estimate the merit of his wonderful romance:—I mention them only as connected with the progress of society. In this line I am happy to name D'Alembert and Diderot; to whom French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasure of universal science, the *Encyclopédie.*

Marmontel,

Marmontel, who contributed liberally toward that great work, has farther enriched the literature of his country by a new ſpecies of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philoſophical than the common novel, and leſs prolix than the romance, they combine inſtruction and amuſement in a manner perhaps ſuperior to every other ſpecies of fanciful compoſition. Nor muſt I, in ſpeaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire; and the romances of the ſon are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taſte. This ſportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digreſſions, and libertine diſplay of ſentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Triſtram Shandy*, commonly ſuppoſed to be original in his manner. Even the idea of the much admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sopha* of the younger Crebillon.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, turn our eyes immediately toward our own iſland. Here arts, manners, and literature, have made great progreſs ſince the glorious æra of the Revolution; when our civil and religious rights were fully eſtabliſhed, and our conſtitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trifling objects, introduced a paſſion for political reaſoning. And the auſtere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had grievouſly offended the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his *Eſſay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*. Theſe are two of the moſt excellent proſe compoſitions in our language, whether we conſider the ſtyle or matter; the former an example of cloſe manly reaſoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irreſiſtible force of ridicule, when ſupported by wit, humour, and ſatire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime

mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a diftance from court; fo that the advance of tafte and politenefs was very inconfiderable, till the reign of queen Anne. Then the fplendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political difputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whofe characters are well known, and whofe names are familiar to every ear. Then were difplayed the ftrong talents and elegant accomplifhments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St. John. Then fubfifted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addifon, Congreve, Rowe, Steel, Vanburgh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendfhip and familiarity of the principal perfons in power, but moft of them in early life obtained places in fome of the lefs burdenfome departments of government, which put it in their power to pafs the reft of their days in eafe and independency [5].

Thus raifed to refpect, above the neceffity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, feveral of

5. The man, who rolling in riches, could make the following unfeeling remark, deferves no mercy from the candidates for literary merit, none from the profecutors of the elegant arts—from the poet or the painter, whatever admiration he may profefs for their labours: " *Want of protection* is the *apology* " for want of *genius*. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, " by wanting protection; they can always afford to buy ink and paper, co- " lours and pencils." (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. I. *Pref.* p. vii.) But who is to afford them a fubfiftence, till they can finifh any ingenious work?—And what is fubfiftence, without encouragement? without the animating hopes of fame? which in moft minds require the foftering hand of patronage, or protection. Hence the more juft and generous fentiment of Gray, in fpeaking of obfcure and neglected bards:

" Chill penury reprefs'd their noble rage,
" And froze the genial current of the foul."

those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the SPECTATOR; which, by combating, with reason and raillery, the faults in composition and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanburgh, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance. Even the last pieces of Dryden, then considered as models of elegance, are by no means sufficiently delicate in sentiment. Like all the authors formed under the reign of Charles II. he still represents love as an appetite rather than a passion. His celebrated tale of *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*, the most pathetic of all his FABLES, is not free from this fault.

> " Thy little care to mend my widow'd nights,"

says Sigismonda to her father,

> " Has forc'd me to recourse of marriage rites,
> " To fill an empty side, and follow known delights.
> " Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told,
> " Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold—
> " Thou hast been young, and canst remember still,
> " That when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the will;
> " And from the past experience of thy fires,
> " Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires
> " Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage re-
> " quires."

This may all be very natural in the abstract. Women of certain complexions, the slaves of animal appetite, may be under the tyranny of such desires; but they are surely not

common to the ſex: and we ſympathize as little with thoſe ravenous and inordinate paſſions, as we do with an immoderate call for food. In the mouth of ſo accompliſhed a princeſs as Sigiſmonda, ſuch groſs ſentiments can only excite diſguſt. They are alike unſuitable to her character, her condition, and her enthuſiaſtic paſſion [6]. Dryden knew nothing of the female heart, and little of the heart of man. Having no ſenſibility himſelf, he wanted that ſympathetic chord, which alone could conduct him to the boſoms of others, and enable him to raiſe correſpondent emotions [7].

Prior's *Henry and Emma* is the firſt poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy; if we except thoſe of the epic and dramatic kind, by Spenſer, Shakeſpeare, and Milton. I cannot forbear quoting the following lines, though perhaps inferior in poetical merit, as a contraſt to the ſentiments of Sigiſmonda. Emma ſpeaks:

"When from the cave thou riſeſt with the day,
"To beat the woods and rouſe the bounding prey,
"The cave with moſs and branches I'll adorn,
"And chearful ſit to wait my lord's return.
"With humble duty and officious haſte,
"I'll cull the fartheſt mead for thy repaſt;

6. The extravagant praiſe lately paid to this Tale, by a popular critic, has led me to be thus particular, in order to prevent an indiſcriminate admiration, raiſed by the magic of verſe, and ſupported by ſuch high authority, from corrupting the taſte and the morals of youth.

7. A ſtronger proof of this aſſertion cannot poſſibly be given than in the ſorrow of Sigiſmonda over the *heart* of her beloved huſband; which, inſtead of drawing tears of compaſſion down the moſt obdurate cheek, as might have been expected, muſt fill every reader of taſte and ſentiment with contempt. The heart was in a cup.

———"Though once I meant to meet
"My fate with face unmov'd, and eyes unwet;
"Yet ſince I have Thee here in *narrow room*,
"My tears ſhall ſet Thee firſt afloat within thy tomb!"

"The

"The choiceſt herbs I to thy board will bring,
"And draw thee water from the freſheſt ſpring.
"My thoughts ſhall fix, my lateſt wiſh depend
"On Thee, guide, guardian, kinſman, father, friend!
"By all theſe ſacred names be Henry known
"To Emma's heart; and grateful let him own,
"That ſhe, of all mankind, could love but him alone."

To Prior we are alſo indebted for the art of telling a gay ſtory with eaſe, grace, and levity. He is the firſt Engliſh poet who has united elegance and correctneſs. His *Alma* is a delightful performance of the burleſque kind; and his *Solomon*, though ſomewhat tedious for want of incident, has great and various merit. It is a ſchool of wiſdom, and a banquet of intellectual pleaſure.

Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended faſt towards perfection. Steel freed Engliſh comedy from the licentiouſneſs of former writers. If he has not all the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanburgh, he is more chaſte and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the Tatler and Spectator, many juſt and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half refinement.

Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his beſt pieces all groſly ſenſual deſcriptions, as well as impious and indelicate expreſſions. Though intimately acquainted with the beſt models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his ſentiments are chiefly his own. If he paints the paſſions with leſs force and truth than Shakſpeare or Otway, he is free from the barbariſm of the one, and the licentiouſneſs of the other: and his tragedies abound with ſo many noble and generous ſentiments, introduced without any flagrant violation of the propriety of character or the veriſimilitude of nature, that they continue to give pleaſure, after half a century, equally in the cloſet and on the ſtage. This favourable reception proceeds partly from what has been conſidered as his greateſt fault: he is never ſublime in the

higheſt degree, or pathetic in the extreme, but always tender, intereſting, and elevating. Terror and pity, the two throbbing pulſes of tragedy, are not carried, in his compoſitions, to a painful exceſs. His language is rich, and his verſification is eaſy and flowing; but it wants vigour. Like moſt of our dramatic writers, he frequently violates not only the critical, but the rational unities of time and place, and to the great injury of the general effect of every piece in which ſuch liberty is taken. I have already had occaſion to explain myſelf on this ſubject in ſpeaking of the plays of Shakſpeare [8].

Addiſon's *Cato* has more vigour of verſification than the tragedies of Rowe, but leſs eaſe. It is, however, a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithſtanding its ſuppoſed want of pathos, becauſe it provokes no womaniſh tears, it is perhaps our beſt modern tragedy. Addiſon has alſo written verſes on various ſubjects, both in Engliſh and Latin, and is always poliſhed and correct, though not enthuſiaſtically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a proſe writer.

Swift had given perſpicuity and conciſeneſs to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactneſs to the looſe, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addiſon to furniſh elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty, He wrote the moſt admired papers in the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and other publications of the ſame kind. In thoſe papers he has diſcuſſed an infinite variety of ſubjects, both comic and ſerious, and

8. Part II. Lett. XIX. There, it was obſerved, That the ſcene may be ſhifted, or, in other words, the place changed, to any diſtance conſiſtent with probability, and that any portion of time may elaſpe between the acts, not deſtructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the repreſentation or diſturbing the dream of reality; but that no ſuch change can be made in the middle of an act without injury to both, as the chain of emotions muſt by that means be broken, as well as the connection of ideas, and the ſpectator left nearly in the ſame cool and diſengaged ſtate of mind as when he entered the theatre, or when the act began.

has treated each ſo happily, it might be thought he had ſtudied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him not only for words and phraſes, but for images, than to any other writer in proſe. If his ſtyle has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our proſe compoſition was ſupplied by lord Bolingbroke; who, in his *Diſſertation on Parties*, in his *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and in his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united ſtrength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not poſſible to carry farther the *beauty* and *force* of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Cheſterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully eaſy, but he wants the ſinews of his maſter; and if Johnſon, on ſome ſubjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is generally deſtitute of eaſe. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words too remote from common uſe. He writes like a ſcholar, not like a gentleman; like a man who had mingled little with the world, or never complied with its forms.

What Bolingbroke performed in proſe, his friend Pope accompliſhed even more fully in verſe. Having early diſcovered the bent of his genius, he diligently ſtudied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more eſpecially thoſe who had made uſe of rhyme; not, as has been invidiouſly inſinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verſe, but becauſe rhyme was the prevailing mode of verſification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taſte for the majeſty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and claſſical ear. He ſeems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham and Dryden.

I have not hitherto had occaſion to mention Denham. He wrote in the reign of Charles II. but was little infected with the bad taſte of his age. His deſcriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is ſtill deſervedly admired. It abounds with

natural

natural images, happily blended with moral reflections. His ſtyle is cloſe, and his verſification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing:

"My eye, deſcending from the HILL, ſurveys
"Where Thames among the wanton vallies ſtrays:
"Thames, the moſt lov'd of all the Ocean's ſons,
"By his old Sire, to his embraces runs;
"Haſt'ning to pay his tribute to the ſea,
"Like Mortal Life, to meet Eternity.
"Though with thoſe ſtreams He no reſemblance hold,
"Whoſe foam is Amber and their gravel Gold,
"His genuine and leſs guilty wealth t'explore,
"Search not his Bottom, but ſurvey his Shore."

Pope was not inſenſible to the merit of Denham's verſification, but he ſaw the neceſſity of looking nearer to his own time for a maſter. And he found ſuch a maſter as he ſought in Dryden; who, to the ſweetneſs of Waller, and the ſtrength of Denham, has added a compaſs of verſe, and an energy that is entirely his own. Pope accordingly made the verſification of Dryden his model. And if his own compoſitions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's Feaſt*, the eaſy vigour of the *Abſalom and Achitophel*, or the animated flow of the Fables of his maſter, the collected force and finer poliſh of his numbers; a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and juſt, though leſs bold imagery, entitled him to all the praiſe that can poſſibly belong to an emulous imitator, not inveſted with abſolulute ſuperiority: while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expreſſion; more ſenſibility of heart, and greater elevation of mind, with a cloſer attention to natural and moral objects, yield him all the requiſites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the purſuit of fame. *The Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloiſe to Abelard*, the *Meſſiah*, and the *Eſſay on Man*, are not only the fineſt poems of their kind in ours, but in any modern language.

If Pope's verſification has any fault, it is that of too much

regularity. He generally confines the ſenſe, and conſequently the run of metrical harmony to the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts and ſtrength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and ſatirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when often repeated, and becomes altogether cloying in long poems, but eſpecially in thoſe of the narrative or deſcriptive kind. A fault ſo obvious, though committed by himſelf, could not eſcape the correct taſte and keen diſcernment of Pope. We accordingly find in his tranſlation of Homer (where ſuch monotonous uniformity would have been inexcuſable), as well as in his fanciful pieces, a more free and varied verſification often attempted with ſucceſs. Two examples will be ſufficient to ſet this matter in a clear light; to ſhew both his manner of confining his ſenſe to the couplet, and of extending it farther, in compoſitions of a different ſpecies.

" Our humbler province is to tend the fair,
" Not a leſs pleaſing, though leſs glorious care;
" To ſave the powder from too rough a gale,
" Nor let th' impriſon'd eſſences exhale;
" To draw freſh colours from the vernal flowers,
" To ſteal from rainbows, ere they drop in ſhowers,
" A brighter waſh," &c. *Rape of the Lock*, Cant. ii.

" Thus breathing death, in terrible array,
" The cloſe-compacted legions urg'd their way:
" Fierce they drove on, impatient to deſtroy;
" Troy charg'd the firſt, and Hector firſt of Troy.
" As from ſome mountain's craggy forehead torne
" A rock's round fragment flies, with fury borne,
" (Which from the ſtubborn ſtone a torrent rends),
" Precipitate the ponderous maſs deſcends;
" From ſteep to ſteep the rolling ruin bounds,
" At every ſhock the crackling wood reſounds;
" Still gathering ſtrength, it ſmokes; and, urg'd amain,
" Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the plain:
" There ſtops—So Hector," &c. *Iliad*, xiii.

Pope,

Pope, in a word, if we may judge by the unsuccessful attempts of later writers, has given to our heroic verse in rhyme, all the freedom and variety of which it is capable, without *breaking* its *structure* or *impairing* its *vigour*.

Of the former of these faults examples are numerous among the poetical successors of Pope; but one, from the writings of a man of genius, whence hundreds might be selected, will serve to illustrate the justice of this remark.

"And are there Bards, who on creation's file
"Stand rank'd as men, who breathe in this fair isle
"The air of freedom, with so little gall,
"So low a spirit, prostrate thus to fall
"Before these idols, and without a groan
"Bear wrongs, might call forth murmurs from a stone?"†

Churchill's *Independence*.

How much inferior to the bold interrogative of the author of the *Essay on Man!*

"Who knows but HE, whose hand the Lightning forms,
"Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the Storms,
"Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
"Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?"†

The latter fault however, *want of vigour*, is more common in this age of refinement. Even such lines as the following, though easy and flowing, contradict the general character of our language and versification, that of comprehending much meaning in few words.

"Of that enchanting age her figure seems,
"When smiling Nature with the vital beams
"Of vivid Youth, and Pleasure's purple flame,
"Gilds her accomplish'd work, the female frame,
"With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,
"And just between the woman and the child."

Could any one, on reading these much admired verses, discern the propriety of Roscommon's famous metaphor in speaking of English poetry?

"The weighty Bullion of one STERLING line,
"Drawn in French wire, would through whole pages shine."

They

They who aſpire at a greater compaſs of harmony, and who are ambitious of continuing unbroken its winding ſtream, muſt throw aſide the fetters of rhime.

Born with a ſtrong underſtanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthuſiaſtic fancy—with all the powers neceſſary to form a great poet, Thomſon perceived that Pope had attained the ſummit of excellence in that mode of compoſition which he had adopted. He was not, however, diſcouraged. He ſaw there were other paths to fame; and by judiciouſly making choice of blank verſe, which was perfectly ſuited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldneſs of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildneſs of his poetical deſcriptions, he has left us in his *Seaſons*, a greater number of juſt, beautiful, and ſublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets ſince the days of Lucretius.

Akenſide, *feelingly alive* to all the impreſſions of natural and moral beauty, who ſurveyed the univerſe with a truly benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Supreme Being, has given us in his *Pleaſures of Imagination*, a delightful Syſtem of the Philoſophy of Taſte, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verſe.

And Armſtrong, the friend of Thomſon, and, like Akenſide, a phyſician by profeſſion, has bequeathed to makind a more valuable legacy, in his *Art of preſerving Health*, while he has furniſhed the literary world with a more claſſical poem, in the ſame ſpecies of verſification, than either the *Seaſons* or the *Pleaſures of Imagination*. After ſuch profuſe praiſe, it will be neceſſary to give a ſpecimen of the compoſition of this truly elegant writer.

"He without riot in the balmy feaſt
"Of life, the wants of Nature has ſupplied,
"Who riſes cool, ſerene, and full of ſoul.
"But pliant Nature more or leſs demands,
"As cuſtom forms her:—and all ſudden change
"She hates, of habit even from bad to good.

"If

"If faults in life, or new emergencies,
"From habits urge you by long time confirm'd,
"Slow may the change arrive, and ſtage by ſtage;
"Slow as the ſhadow o'er the dial moves;
"Slow as the ſtealing progreſs of the year."

While blank verſe was thus attaining its higheſt poliſh under the proſperous reign of George II. and deſcriptive and didactic poetry approaching toward perfection, the lighter walks of the Muſe were by no means neglected. Akenſide, not ſatisfied with rivaling Virgil in his moſt finiſhed work, entered the liſts alſo with Horace and Pindar; and although he has not equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the ſublimity, fire, and bold digreſſions of the latter, he deſerves much praiſe for having given us the firſt claſſical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer ſtanzas in our language, than that containing the character of Alcæus, in Akenſide's Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

"Broke from the fetters of his native land,
"Devoting ſhame and vengeance to her Lords,
"With louder impulſe and a threatening hand
"The Leſbian patriot ſmites the founding chords:—
"Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
"Ye curs'd of Gods and freeborn men,
"Ye murderers of the laws!
"Though now ye glory in your luſt,
"Though now ye tread the feeble neck in duſt,
"Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadul cauſe!"

Collins and Gray have been more ſucceſsful in imitating the wild enthuſiam of Pindar; though it muſt be admitted, by their warmeſt admirers, that the lyric pieces of theſe two poets owe their celebrity chiefly to a ceratin ſolemn obſcurity, through which their meaning occaſionally breaks, with a degree of poetic ſplendour that overpowers the faculties of the reader, as lightning is rendered more awful by the interpoſing darkneſs of a thunder-cloud. In Collins's Odes, however,

ever, are found some truly sublime stanzas; especially the first stanza in the Ode to *Liberty*, the first in that to *Mercy*, and the first in that to *Fear*. And Gray's *Welch Bard*, examined as a whole, has great merit, whether we consider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

But none of our lyric poets has come so near to the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace, as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solstice*. After lamenting the destructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus:

"But let not Man's unequal views
"Presume o'er Nature and her laws;
"'Tis his with grateful joy to use
"Th' indulgence of the SOVEREIGN CAUSE:
"Secure that Health and Beauty springs
"Through this majestic frame of things,
"Beyond what He can reach to know;
"And that Heaven's all-subduing will
"With Good, the progeny of Ill,
"Attempereth every state below."

Nor are the Pindaric odes of this poet destitute of dignity, though that dignity consists less in pomp of language than in elevation of sentiment. The character of Milton, in the Ode on the *Power of Poetry*, addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon, is daringly bold.

"Mark how the dread Pantheon stands,
"Amid the domes of modern hands;
"Amid the toys of idle state,
"How simply, how severely great!
"Then turn, and while each western clime
"Presents her tuneful sons to Time,
"So mark thou Milton's awful name," &c.

That whole ode breathes a noble spirit of freedom; "such

"as,"

"as," to uſe the author's own words, in ſpeaking of the Muſe,

"When Greece to Her immortal ſhell
"Rejoicing liſten'd, God-like ſounds to hear;
"To hear the ſweet Inſtructreſs tell
"(While men and heroes throng'd around)
"How life its nobleſt uſe may find,
"How beſt for freedom be reſign'd,
"And how, by Glory, Virtue ſhall be crown'd."

Since I have touched upon this animating ſubject, I muſt tranſcribe the opening of Collins's *Ode to Liberty*, which has always rouſed me more forcibly than any thing I ever read in any language.

"Who ſhall awake the Spartan fife,
"And call in ſolemn ſounds to life,
"The youths whoſe locks divinely ſpreading,
"Like vernal hyacinths in ſullen hue,
"At once the breath of Fear and Virtue ſhedding,
"Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view?"

The concluſion of the ſame ſtanza, containing a deſcription of the fall of the Roman empire, is no leſs poetical, but hiſtorically falſe, and conſequently of dangerous tendency, as it may communicate a wrong turn of thinking to the untutored mind.

"No Freedom! no, I will not tell,
"How Rome, before thy weeping face,
"With heavieſt ſound, a Giant-ſtatue fell,
"Puſh'd by a wild and artleſs race
"From off its wide ambitious baſe;
"When Time his Northern ſons of ſpoil awoke,
"And all the blended work of ſtrength and grace,
"With many a rude repeated ſtroke,
"And many a barbarous yell, to thouſand fragments broke."

Now the truth is, That long before this event, Rome had not

not only loſt her own liberty, but baſely infringed upon the liberties of other nations: and the whole empire languiſhed under the moſt enſlaving deſpotiſm. The deſcription, therefore, though conſiſtent in itſelf, is falſe in every point of view, as applied to the Roman empire. And Freedom, inſtead of weeping at the fall of Rome, may be ſaid poetically to have aſſiſted the ſons of the North, in breaking to pieces that *Giant-ſtatue*, or enormous monarchy, in order to emancipate mankind from its degrading dominion and corrupting influence.

About the ſame time that Akenſide, Collins, and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verſes by Hammond; a man of taſte and ſenſibility, who has ſucceſsfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and given to his amorous ſolicitations ſoft melancholy, entirely in uniſon with the tone of the paſſion, and a tenderneſs to which Waller and Prior were ſtrangers. A ſhort extract will illuſtrate theſe obſervations.

"With thee I hop'd to waſte the pleaſing day,
"'Till in thy arms an age of joy was paſt;
"Then, old with love, inſenſibly decay,
"And on thy boſom gently breathe my laſt.

"I ſcorn the Lydian river's golden wave,
"And all the vulgar charms of human life;
"I only aſk to live my Delia's ſlave,
"And when I long have ſerv'd her—call her wife."

This ſpecies of verſification is happily adapted to ſuch ſubjects, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid to be contrary by a learned and dictatorial critic; for although "the *quarten* "of ten ſyllables," in alternate rhyme, is capable of great ſtrength and dignity, though it may be condenſed into a ſolid column, in commemoration of victory, it can alſo be dilated with more facility than the couplet, into a looſe floating veil of mourning, or breathed into a tremulous ſymphony of fond complaint. It has accordingly been adopted by all ſucceeding elegiac writers of any eminence; but particularly by

by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Church-Yard*, and by Shenſtone in thoſe excellent moral Elegies, publiſhed after his death, which do ſo much honour both to his head and heart, and form ſo ſevere a ſatire on his want of œconomy.

Shenſtone deſerves to be here mentioned on another account. He has given us a refined ſpecies of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted; and which, if not altogether *paſtoral*, is exceedingly *pleaſing*. It is, indeed, without a pun, *ſomething better*: it repreſents the manners and the ſentiments of a gentleman reſiding in the country, inſtead of thoſe of a clown. In this reſpect, it does not differ eſſentially from the paſtorals of the poliſhed and courtly Virgil, who would not have been aſhamed to have owned the following elegant lines:

"Can a boſom ſo gentle remain
"Unmov'd when her Corydon ſighs?
"Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
"Thoſe plains and this valley deſpiſe?
"Dear regions of ſilence and ſhade!
"Soft ſcenes of contentment and eaſe!
"Where I could have happily ſtray'd,
"If aught in her abſence could pleaſe?
"But where does my Phillida ſtray?
"And where are her grotts and her bowers?
"Are the groves and the vallies as gay,
"And the ſhepherds as gentle as ours?
"The groves may perhaps be as fair,
"And the face of the vallies as fine;
"The ſwains may in manners compare,
"But their love is not equal to mine."

This zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and ſentiment from flowing in other channels. A claſſical form was given to the *Comic Romance* by Fielding and Smollett, who have painted modern manners with great

force

force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and ſatire.

Richardſon, no leſs claſſical, created a new ſpecies of fiction, which may be called the *Epic of Civil Life*; as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully conſtructed fable, and in a variety of ſtrongly marked characters, under the influence of different paſſions, and engaged in different purſuits the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanneſs and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumſtance, or diſplay of warlike exploits.

The principal productions of theſe authors, under the well-known names of *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, *Sir Charles Grandiſon*, *Clariſſa* [9], and *Amelia*, ſeemed for a time wholly to occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. But the hiſtories of Robertſon and Hume appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taſte was introduced. The lovers of mere amuſement found, That real incidents, properly ſelected and diſpoſed, ſetting aſide the idea of utility, and real characters delineated with truth and force, can more ſtrongly engage both the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taſte, which has ſince given birth to many other elegant hiſtorical productions, fortunately for Engliſh literature, continues to gain ground.

9. Lovelace, the principal male character in this celebrated romance, is evidently a copy of Row's Lothario, in the *Fair Penitent*. This Dr. Johnſon owns, but adds, that the imitator "has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. Lothario with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be deſpiſed, retains too much of the reader's kindneſs. It was in the *power* of Richardſon *alone* to teach us at once *eſteem* and *deteſtation*." But Dr. Beattie, another formidable critic, and the friend of Dr. Johnſon, is of a very different opinion. "Richardſon's Lovelace," ſays he, "whom the reader ought to abominate for his crimes, is adorned with youth, beauty, eloquence, wit, and every intellectual and bodily accompliſhment; is there not then reaſon to apprehend ſome readers will be more inclined to admire the gay profligate, than to fear his puniſhment?" So contentious a ſcience is criticiſm!—and ſo little reference have the opinions of the learned, in matters of taſte, to any common ſtandard!

I must now carry forward the progress of arts and of manners, and of those branches of polite literature that are most intimately connected with both.

The immature and unexpected death of queen Anne was friendly to the Proestant Succession: for it is certain she intended, as I have had occasion to shew, that her brother should fill the British throne. What might have been the character of the reign of James III. it is impossible decidedly to say, as he was never invested with the administration. But there is great reason to believe, from his superstitious bigotry, that his government would neither have been favourable to civil nor religious liberty. The reign of George I. was favourable to both, though little indulgent to genius. Unacquainted with the beauties of our language, and utterly destitute of taste, like most of his countrymen in that age, this prince paid no attention to literature or the liberal arts. Literature, however, made vigorous shoots by the help of former culture and soil; but manners experienced a woeful decline, and the arts made no advance.

In consequence of the timid, but prudent policy of that reign, the martial spirit was in a manner extinguished in England. The heads of the Tory faction kept at a distance from court, as in the reign of William: and truth obliges me to declare, That the Tories have always been the most munificent patrons of genius, as well as the most accomplished gentlemen in the kingdom. The ministers of George I. were Whigs. Many of them were little better than money-brokers, and the South-Sea scheme made them stock-jobbers. The rapid revolution of property occasioned by that scheme; the number of ancient families ruined, and of the new ones raised to opulence, broke down the distinction of ranks, and gave rise to a general profusion, as well as to an utter disregard of decency and respect.

The corrupt administration of sir Robert Walpole, in the early part of the reign of George II. when every man's virtue was supposed to have its price, contributed still farther to dissolve the manners and principles of the nation; while the

the thriving ſtate of manufactures, and a vaſt influx of money by trade, produced ſuch a deluge of intemperance among the common people, that the parliament was obliged to interpoſe its authority, in order to reſtrain the inordinate uſe of ſpiritous liquors. And after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, military force was often neceſſary to ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs of riot; which, under pretence of want, occaſioned by dearth of proviſions, but really in the wantonneſs of abundance, long diſtracted the whole kingdom.

The war, which was begun in 1755, united all hearts and all hands in oppoſing the common enemy. In the courſe of that glorious war, at firſt ſo unpropitious, the relaxation of manners totally diſappeared. The national ſpirit recovered its tone. Wiſdom was found in the cabinet, and ability diſplayed itſelf both in the ſenate and the field. Military ardour roſe to heroiſm, and public virtue to the utmoſt height of patriotiſm. And although the peace of Paris did not procure us all the advantages we had reaſon to expect, it yet left the Britiſh empire great and flouriſhing; with trade conſiderably augmented; territory immenſely extended; and a numerous body of brave and induſtrious people, employed in ſupplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of huſbandry.

In times of ſuch great national proſperity, it might be expected that public ſpectacles would be numerous and ſplendid, and that the liberal arts, though neglected by government, would be encouraged by the public, and patroniſed by opulent individuals. This was literally the caſe. Beſide a magnificent Italian opera, the capital ſupported two Engliſh threatres: and thoſe theatres were well ſupplied with new pieces, the profits of which amply recompenſed the labour of their authors.

The comedies of Steele were followed by thoſe of Cibber, who has given us, in his *Careleſs Huſband*, a finiſhed picture of polite life. The formal ſtyle, and ſententious morality of Addiſon's *Cato*, in a ſmaller or greater degree, diſtinguiſh all the tragedies of Thomſon. The tragedies of

Southern and Young are more impaſſioned, though in other reſpects no leſs faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breaſt, has ſome exquiſitely pathetic ſcenes. But his ſtories are too uniformly diſtreſſing; and *Oroonoko*, his beſt piece, is interlarded with low comedy. *Iſabella*, written in the reign of George I. has fewer faults, and fewer yet many beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed!—Young's *Revenge* has great merit. The fable is well conſtructed, the ſtyle is eaſy and animated; the characters are ſtrongly marked, and the poetic ſpirit is ſupported throughout the piece. But it has few of the genuine charms of nature, and too many of thoſe *terrible graces*, which have drawn upon our ſtage the imputation of barbariſm.

The hiſtory of the ſtage is a ſubject of great philoſophical curioſity; as it is, in every nation, intimately connected with the hiſtory of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is ſomething to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curioſity. Our tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, ſeemed to have had a very imperfect notion of their buſineſs. As they could have little opportunity to obſerve the motions, and ſtill leſs to hear the diſcourſe of royal perſonages, eſpecially on great and momentout ſubjects, or while under the influence of ſtrong paſſions, they had recourſe to imagination; and gave to all the ſpeeches of ſuch exalted characters, and by habit to thoſe of every character, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony; which had ſmall reſemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a ſtrutting ſtatelineſs of geſture, that was altogether preternatural, but which they miſtook for majeſty. To require only the *tread of the ſtage* was a work of years.

But no ſooner did Garrick ſet his foot upon the threatre than this difficulty vaniſhed. Having a ſound judgment, a juſt taſte, and keen ſenſibility, with a diſcernment ſo acute as to enable him to look into the inmoſt receſſes of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of luſtre; a fine ear; a muſical and articulate voice, with uncommon power to modulate it to every tone of paſſion, he roſe at once to

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the height of his profeſſion, and taught the ſympathiſing ſpectators, that kings and heroes were men, and ſpoke, and moved, and felt, like the reſt of their ſpecies. Other players followed his eaſy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical repreſentation.

This new ſtyle of acting introduced a new taſte in writing. Inſtead of the rant and fuſtian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his diſciples diſplayed their bewitching power of moving the paſſions chiefly in the pathetic and awful ſcenes of Shakſpeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the Engliſh ſtage ſeveral of the elegant and intereſting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to threatrical exhibitions. In the *Zara* and the *Merope* he was particularly ſucceſsful. Originals were compoſed in the ſame juſt taſte. Among theſe, we ſtill ſee with pleaſure the *Gameſter*, *Douglas*, and *Barbaroſſa*. The *Elfrida* and *Caractacus* of Maſon, and the *Medea* of Glover, are equally pregnant with nature and paſſion. Written in imitation of the Greek drama, and worthy of the Athenian ſtage, they have all been repreſented on that of London with applauſe; but they have not yet made us converts to the ancient manner.

The genius of Garrick as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no leſs excellent; and his taſte, and his ſituation as a manager, enabled him to draw to light ſeveral neglected pieces of great merit, The comic muſe, however, was backward in her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the *Suſpicious Huſband*, and Foote thoſe inimitable *ſketches of real life*, which were ſo long the delight of the town, and have juſtly gained him the name of the Engliſh Ariſtophanes. At length Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandeſtine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence, and our comedy ſeemed to be perfected. But a new ſpecies of comedy has ſince been imported from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama

of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances are blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West Indian*, are precious pieces in this new taste.

Besides its connection with manners and literature, the stage has an intimate alliance with painting and music. Of this alliance the English stage has not failed to take advantage, or that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole scenery is perhaps superior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, and also our theatrical wardrobe, as our dresses certainly are better adapted to the characters which the actors represent. The *costume* is preserved more perfectly on ours than on any other stage [10].

The effect of our landscapes and sea-pieces, by the power of perspective, and the *extrinsic* help of *illumination* and *obscurity*, is equal if not superior to that of nature; and these enchanting scenes, in conjunction with music and dancing, give to the *mute drama* an illusive charm, a deception that is altogether necromantic.—A word here of dancing.

The art of dancing has of late been carried to great perfection among us, as well as among our neighbours on the continent; so as not only to keep time to music in graceful motion, but to be at the same time expressive of a series of action, and a fluctuation of passion. As human beings, however, endowed with the distinguishing faculty of speech, let us not set too high a value upon this light-heeled corporeal language, which it is possible to teach even so rude an animal as a bear; and in which, as far as it is mimetic of hunting or war, its two favourite subjects, an American savage is infinitely more perfect than Slingsby, Vestris, or Heinel. Theatrical music deserves more attention.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our

10. This beautiful propriety, which gives so much truth to good acting, we owe chiefly to the classical taste and enlightened understanding of Garrick.

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firſt ſucceſsful muſical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is ſaid to have been written in *ridicule* of the Italian opera; though I am fully perſuaded the author foreſaw the pleaſure the *Comic Opera* would afford to an Engliſh audience, independent of that circumſtance, and only called in the contraſt of character, in order to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burleſque had been his chief object, he would have made Macheath and all his gang warble Italian airs.

Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his ſongs to *native* tunes. Theſe tunes had all been heard by moſt of the audience in early life, when the mind was free from care; in the ſcenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or repoſed in the luxury of infantine paſſion; while reaſon was loſt in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illuſions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled ſome agreeable feeling, or former happy ſtate of mind. The effect of the muſic was accordingly altogether magical; and it would have been ſtill greater, if the airs had been ſung by perſons whom the audience could have loved or reſpected. But as this was not the caſe, the *Beggar's Opera*, in conſequence of its muſical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. It ſerved to dignify the character of a highwayman, and to familiarize, and even to reconcile the mind to ſuch flagitious ſcenes as ought ever to be held in diſtant abhorrence; the nocturnal orgies of robbers, whores, and thieves; their levity in the cells of Newgate, and their indifference at the proſpect of ignominiouſly paying the debt of juſtice on *Tyburn-tree!*—Nor was this all. The author, by putting into the mouths of ſuch wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of ſome of our moſt admired love-ſongs, threw a ſtronger ridicule upon genuine paſſion and virtuous tenderneſs than upon the Italian opera.

Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of this muſical piece, we had no other comic opera of any merit for many years. The ſingularity of the ſubject, and the continued applauſe paid

paid to the *Beggar's Opera*, deterred imitation and precluded rivalry. In the mean time the famous Handel, who had quarrelled with the proprietors of the Opera-houſe, brought on the Engliſh ſtage a new ſpecies of muſical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and aſtoniſhment of the whole muſical world. But the Oratorio, which has already loſt its hold of the public taſte, has ſo many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, as muſt for ever prevent it from being in general requeſt. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, ſcenery, nor characteriſtical dreſſes.

Dr. Arne, ſenſible of the imperfections of the Oratorio, attempted to inſpire his countrymen with a taſte for the *Serious Opera*. With this view, he ſet to excellent muſic, and brought upon the Engliſh ſtage a tranſlation of the Artaxerxes, of Metaſtaſio; which was received with the moſt enthuſiaſtic applauſe, and is ſtill a favourite performance. Yet, extraordinary as it may ſeem, we have no other ſerious opera that is ſo much as tolerated. Muſical tragedy is happily little ſuited to the general taſte of an Engliſh audience, which requires a more maſculine compoſition.

Our muſical comedy has made greater progreſs. It hath been much refined and improved, by the excluſion of profligate manners, and by judiciouſly intermixing ſcenes of ſentiment with thoſe of humour; as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and ſome other pieces of a ſimilar kind, which have deſervedly met with a favourable reception. Even theſe, however, appear to be loſing ground. Many of our Comic Operas are already transformed into after-pieces, and as ſuch they will always pleaſe.

Since the charm of novelty has ceaſed, the good ſenſe of the people of England ſeems ſtill to require a ſtandard comedy or tragedy, as their principal theatrical diſh:—and muſic has other walks to occupy. The grand concerts in the capital, and in every conſiderable town in the kingdom, afforded ample ſcope to native compoſers; whilſt the Opera-houſe,

or

or Italian theatre, calls forth all the talents of foreign masters, as well as all the powers of execution, both vocal and instrumental, by the most liberal rewards, for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

The advances of the other arts considered as elegant, in England, during the present century, opens a wide field for investigation, at which I can only glance. Nor am I required to enter deeply into it by my subject; a general view of improvement being the sole purpose of this letter. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts, I have already carried forward by anticipation, in tracing the progress of Commerce[11]; though perhaps I have not been sufficiently particular in some articles, such as the great perfection to which the printing of linen and cotton cloths has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty those of India; or of paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and sattin, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought I to omit the taste and fancy displayed in the patterns of our figured silks; or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

Our sepulchral monuments, at the close of the last century were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who have since adorned Westminster-Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of antient Greece, also were foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself in sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and of St. Stephen's Walbroke; exclusive of his other great designs—of that of Greenwich Hospital or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court.

Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a

11. Part II, Lett. XXVI.

liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkham, the seat of the earl of Leicester in Norfolk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent has been greatly surpassed, in architecture, by sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others, who have adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity; who have united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgot, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriar's-bridge, a work to which antiquity can offer no parallel [12].

We have at present native statuaries of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollikens have yet produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach, Scheemaker's Shakespeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac [13].

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copy *low life*, or debase it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature, as far as it was possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, HE de-

12. Westminster bridge, not perhaps less noble, though surely less elegant, was executed after the plan of a Frenchman.

13. Of these celebrated statues, the most excellent is the Hercules, compiled from various parts of the body and limbs (which the sculptor supposed to be most truly formed) of seven or eight of the strongest and best made men in England, chiefly champions in the amphitheatre for bruising, under the protection of the late duke of Cumberland. The Newton of Roubiliac has also great merit; but Mr. H. Walpole thinks "the *air* is a little too *pert* for so "*grave* a man." But Mr. Scott, a man of taste and genius, is of a very different opinion.

"Behold! (a prism within his hands)
"*Absorb'd in thought* great Newton stands,
"Such was his *brow* and *look serene*,
"His *serious gait* and *musing mien*.

ODE TO SCULPTURE.

lineates,

lineates, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. They who are in doubt about this matter need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage à la Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order. As the most excellent of those are now living, I shall not enter into a particular estimate of their merit; but observe, in general, That if they have not attained all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, they have made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they have given second life to heroes and legislators. They have made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts: they have painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm, That Copley's *Earl of Chatham*, West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of Reynold's *Ugolino*, fill the mind with nobler ideas, and awaken the heart to more generous emotions, than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave that kneeled at the altar of superstition[14].

14. "Since *affections* of *every kind* are equally within the painters *power*," says Quinctilian, "it is of great importance that he apply himself to *excite* "only such as are *subservient* to *good morals*." (*Inst. Orat.* lib. xi.) And Aristotle, amongst other instructions, gives it in charge to the governors of youth, "that they allow them to see no pictures but those which have such moral "tendency." (*Polit.* lib. viii.) The reason of this caution is founded in the depths of philosophy, in an equal knowledge of human nature and the influence of the arts; for there can remain no doubt, That whatever addresses itself immediately to the *eye* by an *actual representation* of *objects*, must *affect* the *youthful mind*, and indeed all minds, but especially the least cultivated, more than any form of words, or combination of *articulate sounds*, *significant* of *ideas* merely by *convention*. Yet we are told by a noted connoisseur, "That *pictures* "cannot *adapt* themselves to the *meanest capacities*, as unhappily the *tongue* can." *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. i. Pref. p. x.

Fortunately

Fortunately for the lovers of embelliſhment, engraving, of which painting may be ſaid to be the prototype, has not made leſs progreſs in England during the preſent century than the parent art. Hiſtorical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great. And they are very liable beſide to be injured by time or accident. Hence the utility of engraving in plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its repreſentations, if leſs perfect than thoſe of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and alſo of moſt of thoſe of the greateſt Italian maſters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we muſt ever place Strange and Woollet. The firſt excels chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landſcape. They have both, at preſent, ſeveral formidable rivals in every branch of the art, and the late unhappy Ryland was perhaps equal to either.

We have yet another flouriſhing art, deſervedly conſidered as liberal, and which is of Engliſh origin, unleſs we ſhould allow the Chineſe to come in for a ſhare of the honour of the invention; namely MODERN GARDENING, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, diſpoſed like colours upon a canvas. For this art, which was altogether unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taſte and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* nature, or more properly ſpeaking, *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleaſure-grounds, inſtead of impreſſing upon every natural object the hard ſtamp of art; he taught us, that the perfection of gardening, conſiſts in humouring and adorning, not in conſtraining or diſguiſing nature; conſequently, that ſtraight walks, regular parterres, circular and ſquare pieces of water, and trees cut in the ſhape of animals, are utterly inconſiſtent with true taſte. In a word, the whole ſecret of Modern Gardening conſiſts in making proper uſe of natural ſcenery; wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture; ſo as to give beauty and variety to the embelliſhed ground, and in judiciouſly veiling and expoſing

ing the ſurrounding country: in contraſting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant ſlope with the rugged ſteep, the ſylvan temple with the ruined tower; the meandering rill with the majeſtic river, and the ſmooth ſurface of the lake, or artificial ſea, with Nature's moſt ſublime object, a view of the boundleſs and ever-agitated ocean.

Milton ſeems to have had a diſtinct idea of this kind of gardening, as far as it regards the particular ſpot.

> " Through Eden went a *river large*;
> " Nor *chang'd* his *courſe*, but *through* the *ſhaggy hill*
> " Paſs'd *underneath* ingulph'd; for God had *thrown*
> " That *mountain* as his *garden mound*, high rais'd
> " Upon the *rapid current*,—which *through veins*
> " Of *porous earth*, with kindly thirſt updrawn,
> " *Roſe a freſh fountain*, and with *many* a *rill*
> " *Water'd* the *garden*.
>
> " From that *ſapphire fount* the *criſped brooks*,
> " *Rolling* on *orient pearl* and *ſands* of *gold*,
> " With *mazy error*, under *pendant ſhades*,
> " Ran nectar; *viſiting* each *plant* and *fed*
> " *Flowers* worthy of paradiſe; which not *nice art*
> " In *beds* and *curious knots*, but *nature boon*
> " *Pour'd* forth *profuſe* on *hill*, and *dale*, and *plain*;
> " Both where the *morning ſun* firſt *warmly ſmote*
> " The *open field*, and where the *unpierced ſhade*
> " *Imbrown'd* the *noon-tide bowers*."

This is certainly, to uſe the poet's own words, " a happy rural ſcene of *various view*[15]." But Milton, like all the gardeners of his time, or of thoſe which had preceded it,

15. The reſemblance of Milton's *Eden* to a garden laid out in the modern taſte, was firſt noticed by the late penetrating lord Kaims in chap. xxiv. of his *Elements of Criticiſm*, printed in 1762. " Milton," ſays he, " juſtly prefers the grand taſte to that of regularity;" and he quotes part of the above extract, in confirmation of his remark. Yet Mr. H. Walpole, in retailing the ſame obſervation, almoſt twenty years later, ſeems to aſſume to himſelf the merit of it, and to congratulate himſelf, as if he had been making an important diſcovery.

confines

confines his paradiſe within high boundaries, and conſequently excludes diſtant and rude proſpect, the grand charm in modern gardening; for

> " the *champaign head*
> " Of *a ſteep wilderneſs*, whoſe hairy ſides
> " With thicket over-grown, grotesque and wild!
> " *Acceſs denied*; and *overhead* up *grew*
> " *Inſuperable height* of *loftieſt ſhade*,
> " Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm."

The man who firſt threw down the garden-wall, and ſunk the foſſe, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly ſaid to have broke the ſpell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damſel Nature ſo long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itſelf with utility, and grandeur with ruſtic labour; the pleaſure-ground with the paſtured and cultivated field, the gravel-walk with the public road, and the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the ſea; that glorious fountain of univerſal communication among men, which enables the philoſopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to viſit every ſhore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus ſucceſsfully employed in extending the circle of the arts, and in embelliſhing external nature, ſcience was not neglected: they were not inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or the operation of the human mind. Locke and Newton have had their ſucceſſors, as well as Dryden and Milton. Halley illuſtrated the theory of the tides, and increaſed the catalogue of the ſtars: while Maclaurin made great progreſs in algebra, and Gregory reduced aſtronomy to a regular ſyſtem. Theſe men of genius have been ſucceeded by very able mathematicians; but the æra of diſcovery in mathematics ſeems to be paſt. More advance has been made in other ſciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable ſyſtem of Tull has

led to the greateſt improvements in agriculture; and the bold diſcoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be ſaid to have given birth to a new ſcience. With the purpoſe to be ſerved by many of thoſe diſcoveries, which at preſent ſo ſtrongly engage the attention of philoſophers, we are yet as much in the dark as in regard to the electric principle itſelf. But the beneficial effects of electricity in many medical caſes, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ſhips are preſerved from the deſtructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice in a view of the progreſs of ſociety, ſhould it even otherwiſe diſappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the ſucceſſors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the firſt place. Not that his metaphyſical inquiries are more acute than thoſe of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but that his diſcoveries, like thoſe of his great maſter, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of univerſal application in ſcience, and cloſely connected with the leading principles of the arts. His beautiful analyſis of the ASSOCIATION of IDEAS, which he comprehends under three general heads, namely, *Reſemblance*, including contraſt, *Contiguity* in time or place, and *Cauſe* or *Effect*. And his ingenious *Theory of the Paſſions*, or the COMMUNICATION of EMOTIONS, immediately laid the foundation of that PHILOSOPHY *of the* FINE ARTS, which was afterward formed into a ſyſtem by Lord Kaims, in his *Elements of Criticiſm*, and which has ſince been illuſtrated by many elegant writers.

But none of thoſe writers has illuſtrated the principles of Mr. Hume ſo happily as himſelf. They may be ſaid, indeed, only to have written commentaries on his illuſtrations. One example will juſtify this remark. The ſubject is *Unity of Action*, about which all critics, after Ariſtotle, had talked ſo much, and to ſo little purpoſe, while they *directed* not their *taſte* or *ſentiment* by the *accuracy of philoſophy*. "It appears," ſays he, "That in all productions, as well as the epic and "tragic, there is a certain UNITY required, if we would pro-

"duce a work which will give any lasting entertainment to "mankind. An annalist or historian, who should undertake "to write the HISTORY OF EUROPE, during any century, "would be influenced by the *connection* of *Contiguity* in *time* "and *place*. All events, which happen in that portion of "space, and period of time, are comprehended in his design, "though in other respects different and unconnected. They "have still a species of *unity* amid all their *diversity*. But "the most usual species of *connexion*, among the different "*events* which enter into any *narrative composition*, is that of "*Cause* and *Effect*; while the historian *traces* the *series* of "*actions* according to their *natural order*, remounts to their "*secret springs* and *principles*, and *delineates* their most *remote* "*consequences*."

If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His Moral, Political, and Literary Essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. He is altogether logical, without the logical forms: he unites the plain perspicuity of Locke to the synthetic precision of Wollaston and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reasoning to the utmost point of perfection, has endeavoured, by sceptical doubts, to destroy the certainty of all reasoning, and to undermine the foundation of both natural and revealed religion. His attack upon the latter leads to a very curious and important inquiry; "the State "of Christianity in England during the Present Century." I shall endeavour to trace the outlines of the subject, by way of termination to this view of the Progress of Society.

That general toleration, which was the immediate consequence of the Revolution, gave birth to great freedom of discussion relative to religious matters. The crowd of sectaries, no longer held together by the common bond of persecution, or restrained by fear from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, entered into a bold investigation of the sublime mysteries of Christianity. And the apostles of each sect keenly

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cenfured the tenets of all who prefumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numberlefs difputes were hotly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational Chriftian.

But this pious warfare was not fufficient to keep alive the fervour of zeal, either in the church or among the diffenters, in a ftate of unlimited liberty of confcience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened fectaries feemed ready to join the hierarchy; when certain fiery fpirits, filled with indignation of fuch lukewarmnefs, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new fects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, in order to prevent the utter defertion of their followers. Whitfield and Wefley in England, and the two Erfkines in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthufiafm, which raged, for a time, with dazzling brightnefs, in fpite of the utmoft efforts of reafon and ridicule. But the fuel of perfecution, the ftake and the faggot, being happily with-held, it has now in a great meafure fpent its force. Nor have the Methodifts yet been able to number one martyr among the multitude of their faints.

The fpirit of infidelity (as it always will, in an enlightened age) kept pace with that of enthufiafm. As many of the wilder fectaries laid claim to divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophefy, fome men of fceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *fufpicion*, and even to deftroy the *credibility* of all *prophecy*; while others call in queftion the *authenticity* of the *facred books*, both hiftorical and prophetical. At the head of thofe fceptical writers, and the moft dangerous becaufe the moft agreeable, may be placed Shaftefbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal, in his *Chriftianity as old as the Creation*, denied the *neceffity* of the *Gofpel*; as it promulgated, he affirmed, no principle or precept with which mankind were not formerly acquainted. Hume, in his *Effay on Miracles*, ftruck directly

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at its foundation, by attempting to ſhew, That no *human teſtimony* is *ſufficient* to *eſtabliſh* the *reality* of a *miracle*. And an author, no leſs able or learned than either, has written an *hiſtorical deduction*, to prove Chriſtianity to be of *human origin*.

But theſe rude attacks have only ſerved more firmly to eſtabliſh true religion, while they have given a ſevere check to enthuſiaſm. They have led divines to examine minutely into the proofs of Revelation, and made them ſenſible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the myſteries in the Chriſtian ſyſtem; eſpecially that of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and the miraculous Influence of Grace upon the Human Soul. The conſequence has been, That all men of *ſound minds* and *good morals*, conform outwardly to the religion of their country, and moſt of them *ſincerely believe* it to be of *divine origin*. The debaſing doctrine of Materialiſm has been exploded, as alike unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition [16]; for he who conſiders this earthly ſpot as the only theatre of his exiſtence, and its grave, inſtead of his firſt ſtage in progreſſive being, can never view nature with a chearful, or man with a benevolent eye.

16. An attempt has lately been made, by a learned divine, to give to this doctrine a new complexion; but his opinions are too whimſical ever to be generally received.

F I N I S.